

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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GALAHAD, NASCIEN, AND SOME OTHER NAMES IN THE GRAIL ROMANCES

(1) *Galahad*

The name of the famous Grail Winner, which under the influence of Malory and, above all, Tennyson, has become standardized throughout the English-speaking world as "Galahad," appears generally as "Galaad" in the mss. of the Old French prose romance, *Queste del Saint Graal*, whose author invented the character, and in the other medieval romances of the Grail cycle. Now, "Galaad," as was, of course, recognized long ago, is the equivalent, in the Vulgate, of the "Gilead" of our Modern English versions. But why should the author of the *Queste* have hit upon this name as the name of his new Grail Winner, who was to supplant the older Grail Winner, Perceval? Strange to say, there has been little comment on this subject, owing to the fact, no doubt, that Arthurian scholars have generally accepted the conclusions as to the name, which are presented in the only detailed discussion of the question that we have—namely, Richard Heinzel's, in his *Über die französischen Gralromane*, pp. 134 f. (Vienna, 1892). Heinzel, to be sure, assumes in this passage that the elder Galahad, son of Joseph of Arimathea, who is, properly speaking, a character of the *Estoire del Saint Graal* (or *Grand St. Graal*, as it is frequently called), and not of the *Queste*, in which latter branch he is alluded to only once, viz., in Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, VI, 185—was, in some lost hypothetical source, the original Grail Winner, and that only later was the name applied to the Grail Winner that we know¹)—the Galahad who is

¹ Heinzel (p. 135) makes a generous admission respecting this theory: "Allerdings Zeugnisse dafür liegen uns nicht vor." Except Heinzel, every-

the son of Lancelot and Pelles' daughter. It would be a waste of time to discuss such baseless fancies as these, but, of course, what Heinzel says of the reasons that caused this imaginary Grail hero to be dubbed Galahad would, in essentials, apply with equal force to the real hero of that name.

Now, Galaad (Gilead) is of much commoner occurrence in the Bible as the name of a district (east of Jordan) than as the name of a person, but it does occur also as the name of three persons, respectively:² (a) Galaad, son of Machir and great-grandson of Joseph, son of Jacob. See *Numeri* (*Numbers*), xxvi, 29; xxvii, 1, and often elsewhere in this book; also *Josue* (*Joshua*), xvii, 1, 3. (b) Galaad, father of Jephthah, *Judicum* (*Judges*), xi, 1, 2. (c) Galaad, chief of a family of Gad, *I. Paralipomenon* (*I. Chronicles*), v, 14. Of these Galaads Heinzel mentions only the first. The third, it may be granted, has no importance, for his name occurs only once, and that in a mere list of names. Heinzel remarks that the first Galaad in our list is the great-grandson of Joseph of Egypt, just as the elder Galaad in the *Estoire* is said to be the son of Joseph of Arimathea. The parallel is not a very close one, but we need not linger over it, for, as I have said in the note above, nobody but Heinzel has ever doubted that this elder Galaad is a secondary creation to the younger Galaad, the Grail Winner of the *Queste*. He still further calls attention to the words which are used of this great-grandson of Joseph's in *Josue*, xvii, 1: *Galaad qui fuit vir pugnator habuitque possessionem Galaad et Basan*; and still further to *Judicum*, x, 18, *erit dux populi Galaad*, where Galaad might easily be taken for a person's name, although, as the context shows, it is really the name of the district.

In my judgment, these commendations (in one case, genuine, and in the other case, an illusion) of Old Testament Galaads are

body, as far as I know, has regarded the elder Galahad as a secondary creation.

Even in the *Queste* passage, Sommer, vi, 185, where we find the allusion to the elder Galahad, he seems to be named only in a few mss. Cp. Sommer's collations at the bottom of the page. It is not at all likely that this allusion stood in the *Queste* in its original form, for it is practically certain that the *Queste* was composed earlier than the *Estoire*.

² It is not necessary for me to give all the occurrences of each name. The complete enumeration will be found in the Bible Concordances, e. g. Robert Young's (Edinburgh, 1880).

of little importance in the choice of the Grail Knight's name. As a matter of fact, I believe that Galaad, father of the renowned warrior, Jephthah, is much more likely to have attracted the attention of the creator of the Grail Knight than the great-grandson of Joseph of Egypt, who was so many times removed from the ancestor in question. If his creator did misinterpret *Judges*, x, 18, in the way that Heinzel assumes—and I think the suggestion very plausible—he would doubtless have applied the imagined exaltation of Galaad to Jephthah's father; for verse 18 is the last verse of Chapter x, and we have in the first two verses of the next chapter the mention of this Galaad, Jephthah's father, and how he begot his famous son. The confusion would have been all the more likely at the time that these romances were written, for the division of the books of the Bible into chapters was only instituted by Stephen Langton early in the thirteenth century, and even if the *Queste* did not actually antedate this innovation, we may be sure that in the very brief interval that elapsed before that romance was written, the new division into chapters had not had time to spread widely, and consequently there is virtually no probability of our author's having had a text with this division before him.³

After all, however, the commendations of the Biblical Galaads seem to me, as I have said, of secondary importance in determining the selection of the name of the Grail hero. If the creator of this hero had been merely seeking to identify the character in name with some "leader of the people" in sacred history, he would surely have chosen a greater chief of Israel than any one who bears the name of Galaad in the Bible—for example, Jephthah himself, or Joshua. The primary influences that determined his choice were obviously different, and, in my judgment, they were as follows:

1. He desired to continue the connection of the Grail Winner with Gales (*i. e.*, Wales), for it will be remembered that the original Grail Winner whom Galahad was destined to supplant was called Perceval of Gales. At the same time, since his hero was to be the embodiment of a religious ideal, he desired to give him a Bible name. It was the fact, then, that "Galaad" was suggestive of "Gales" that led the creator of the new Grail Winner to adopt

³The division of chapters into verses was not instituted until the sixteenth century. It originated with Robert Estienne (1551).

this particular name for his hero.⁴ Any one who is acquainted with medieval etymologizing would feel no surprise to find a writer of that period proposing in all seriousness a real etymological connection between the two names. But it is not necessary to ascribe any such purpose to the author with whom we are dealing. He was simply doing what Geoffrey of Monmouth, for instance, had done before him. Geoffrey, wishing to connect the Britons with the Trojans and Romans, gives the supposed eponymus of the Britons in his history a name that was well-known in Roman history, viz., Brutus. "Brutus," to be sure, does not correspond perfectly to "Britannia," but it was near enough, and, as we know, it carried conviction in the Middle Ages. Similarly, the creator of Galahad, wishing to connect his hero from the land of Gales with the chosen race of the Scriptures (at least, by name), took the name "Galaad" from the Old Testament. "Galaad," too, it is true, does not correspond perfectly to "Gales," but the approximation is about as close as that of "Brutus" to "Britannia."

We are not left, however, to conjecture on the subject of the likelihood of the association of the two names in the mind of the writer in question. In the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, I, 282, it is stated that on the death of the elder Galahad his kingdom, which had hitherto been called "Haucelice" (Hocelice and other variants), was renamed "Gales" in his honor: ". . . apres sa mort changierent il a la terre son non & lapelerent Gales pour lonor de lui, ne onques puis ne li fu chis nons changies ne ne sera iamaiz tant comme li siecles durera." This was, of course, just the reverse of the truth, for Galahad had really been named after Gales, not Gales after Galahad.

2. He had before him already in "Galehaut" (Galehot and other variants) the name of the bosom friend of Galahad's father⁵

⁴The frequent occurrence of Galaad (Gilead) in the Old Testament as the name of a district would, of course, aid in making it a familiar name to the romance writer.

⁵In his *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 166 ff. (Oxford, 1891), the late Sir John Rhys says that Galahad and Galehaut were originally identical. But, like most of the views regarding problems of the Grail romances advanced in that book, this idea is entirely unwarranted. The author did not know the Old French romances and so was disqualified for passing on these questions. For example (p. 166, note) he did not know that in these

(Lancelot) in the *Lancelot*—a name which he, whether rightly or wrongly,⁶ no doubt, interpreted as connected etymologically with "Gales." This name is so close in sound to that of the Grail Winner, that in the mss. of the Vulgate cycle they are occasionally confounded—so, for example, curiously enough, in the very first passage of the *Lancelot*, III, 3, where the Grail Winner's name (here said to be Lancelot's baptismal name, which he subsequently lost through sin) occurs in the ms. (British Museum, Add. 10293) which Sommer follows in his edition. This ms. here reads "Galahos," which is, of course, really the name of Lancelot's friend, whereas the other mss. give the correct reading, "Galaaz" (Old French nominative of "Galaad"). We have the reverse confusion, III, 254 (cp. note 4). Manifestly, when the nominative form for the one name (Lancelot's friend) was "Galahos" and for the other (Lancelot's son) was "Galahas"—and both forms occur frequently—it would be impossible to keep them apart. The

romances the form "Galaad" (for "Galahad") occurs. As a matter of fact, it is the usual form. It would be idle to discuss his next identification, of Galahad with the Welsh Gwalchaved, who is mentioned in *Kulhwch and Olwen* in a list of warriors. The bare name occurs just this once in the Welsh stories, and nothing is known of the character, save that he is here called Gwalchmei's (Gawain's) brother.

* "Galehaut" (and its variants), in my opinion, may very well be connected with "Gales." Such a connection is undeniable in the case of "Galo-brutes" ("Galobrutus"), name of one of Perceval's uncles in the *Perlesvaus*, pp. 3, 333, of Potvin's edition (*Perceval le Gallois*, vol. I, Mons, 1866). The "Brutes" in this name is taken from Geoffrey's eponymus of the Britons, and the "Galo-" is evidently intended to indicate in like manner derivation from "Gales." See, too, the name "Galobrunn," p. 333 of the same romance. It is possible, though not likely, that "Galehaut" etc. influenced these two names. There can be no doubt, however, that the authors of the Arthurian romances (especially, the prose romances) fabricated names wholesale, and we may have accordingly in "Galehaut" ("Galehot," "Galeholt" etc.) the combination of "Gales" with some second element found in other proper names. Cp. such influences in "Lohot" ("Loholt"), which I have discussed in *The Romanic Review*, III, 184, note 20.—Brugger's speculations as to Galehaut being a Viking and a figure in saga, *Zs. f. frz. Spr. u. Litt.* xxviii, 16 ff., rest on a very slender basis. All the probabilities are that he was created by the author of the *Lancelot*, Part I, who was working up here the old friendship motif, so popular in the Middle Ages in the *Athis* and *Prophlias* form.

confusion is particularly common in Malory, who inherited it, no doubt, from his French originals.⁷

Now, as everybody agrees, the *Lancelot* is older than the *Queste*; consequently, I believe that, in view of the conditions which I have just set forth, one may safely assert that the name of Lancelot's famous friend in the earlier romance had some influence in this matter on the author of the *Queste*.

(2) *Nascien*

This is the name of Galahad's ancestor—head of his paternal line in the genealogy of the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, I, 203. He is, of course, one of the leading characters in this romance, and we hear of him again, in retrospect, in the *Queste*, VI, 26 f., 96 f., 148 ff. He was only called Nascien (Nassien), after he was converted to Christianity. Before that his name had been Seraphe.⁸ "Nascien," "Nassien" is derived evidently, though nobody seems to have observed it, from "Naasson," which figures in the genealogy of Christ, *St. Matthew*, I, 4—also, *St. Luke*, III, 32.

Heinzel (p. 142) has commented on the resemblances between Galahad and Christ. Galahad, too, is the son of a virgin and is of King David's line. He illustrates the virtue of chastity, also, like Christ. I would add still further that his ancestors, the Grail Kings, in these romances evidently typify the Holy Spirit, and so, in a sense, he, too, is the son of the Holy Spirit.⁹ Altogether, I have no doubt that the authors of the *Queste*, *Estoire* and the episodes concerning Galahad's conception in *Lancelot*, Part III, were consciously and systematically parodying the story of Christ.¹⁰

⁷ Cp. H. O. Sommer's edition of the *Morte Darthur*, II, 161 f. (3 vols. London, 1889-1891), for the variants of these names.

⁸ Cp. *Estoire del Saint Graal*, I, 74, in Sommer's edition.

⁹ The beginnings of this symbolization, of course, are plainly observable in what Robert de Borron says of the Grail Keepers in his *Joseph*.

¹⁰ There are, of course, secular elements, besides, in the Galahad story, especially in the narrative of his conception. But the story is fundamentally a parody. It is to be remembered that the conception of Christ, himself, as a knight is familiar to medieval literature. In addition to the analogies cited above, E. Wechssler, *Sage vom Heiligen Gral*, p. 117, points also to the passage in the *Estoire del Saint Graal* (*Grand St. Graal*), I, 247 (Sommer's edition), where Christ's seat at the table of the last Supper is symbolized in the seat reserved for Galahad at the Grail table.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that one of them should have drawn on the genealogy of Christ for the name of the ancestor who heads the hero's paternal line. Wanting a name for this head of Galahad's line, he selected one (Naasson) from near the head of Christ's line. For a similar reason, no doubt, the name of Galahad's uncle, Eliezer (Eliazer) was taken¹¹ from one of the latest of Christ's ancestors (*St. Matthew*, I, 15).

It is interesting to observe that contemporaries recognized the source of these names, Nascien and Eliezer (and possibly others connected with Galahad, which may now be disguised by manuscript corruption), for we find the author of the prose *Tristan*, at the beginning of that romance, drawing again on the genealogy of Christ for the name of a new supposed great-nephew of Joseph of Arimathea (here confounded with Joseph, husband of the Virgin Mary, as elsewhere in the romances), viz., Sadoc. The name does not occur in the Vulgate cycle and is plainly taken¹² from *St. Matthew*, I, 14.

(3) *Hebron*

Robert de Borron, as is well known to students of the Grail literature, in his *Joseph*, calls the second Grail Keeper (brother-in-law to Joseph of Arimathea) sometimes Hebron, sometimes Bron. The metre shows that Robert really uses the alternative forms and that there is no question here of scribal errors. I will not enter at this time into an investigation of the origin of these forms. I merely wish to point out that Heinzel (like other Arthurian scholars) in his discussion of the subject (see his Grail treatise, p. 98) has overlooked the fact that in the Old Testament Hebron is not simply the name of a city (or cities), but also of persons. It occurs, to be sure, only in genealogical lists. Cp. respectively, *Exodus*, VI, 18, *Numbers*, III, 19, *I. Chronicles* VI, 2, 18; XXIII, 12, 19, and *I. Chronicles*, II, 42, 43; XV, 9.

(4) *Sarras*

This is the name of the capital of the pagan King, Evalac,¹³ which Joseph of Arimathea, accompanying the Holy Grail, reaches

¹¹ I have already pointed this out in my *Historia Meriadoci and De Ortu Waluuanii*, p. xxiii, note 1 (Göttingen and Baltimore, 1913).

¹² I pointed this out pp. xxii f., of my edition of the Latin romances, cited in the previous note.

¹³ He was re-named, Mordrain, after his conversion to Christianity.

with his companions on the eleventh day after their departure from Jerusalem (*Estoire*, I, 21 ff., and mentioned elsewhere in the Vulgate cycle). Heinzel, p. 138, labors with all sorts of suggested identifications of this city with various Asiatic cities. But Sarras is clearly a mere city of the imagination, and its name was obtained by simply cutting off *-in* from *Sarrasin* (Saracen) which, like *Saisne* (Saxon), as is well known, was often used by the romance-writers of the Middle Ages as a generic name for pagans of any kind. The author of the *Estoire*, with whom the name originated, has manufactured, I, 262, a King "Escos" out of "Escoce" (Scotland).¹⁴ If he was capable of this, we may be sure that so simple a fabrication as "Sarras" from "Sarrasin" would have given him no trouble. No doubt, "Sarracinte," the name of Evalac's wife, was similarly derived.

I will add to the above a name of Biblical origin which occurs, not in the Grail romances, but in the prose *Tristan*. It was, no doubt, the example of the Grail romances, however, which caused the author of the *Tristan* to trick out certain characters in the initial episode of that romance—the story of Tristan's grandmother, Chelinde—with Bible names. We have seen how this was true in the case of Sadoc, the first of Chelinde's many husbands. It is likewise true of Sadoc's brother, Nabuzardan. Löseth's analysis, p. 4, has the form "Nabusardan," but the form with *z*, which I take from ms. 334 (Bibl. Nat.) is, as will be seen, the correct form. We have here an adoption of the name of Nebuchadnezzar's captain of the guard, who, under his master's orders, laid Jerusalem waste and carried off its people into captivity. In our Authorized Version the name is "Nabuzaradan," but in the Vulgate, which the author of the prose *Tristan* used, it is "Nabuzardan." Cp. *IV. Regum*, xxv, 8, 11, 20; *Jerem.*, xxxix, 9, 10, 11, 13; *XL*, 1.¹⁵

¹⁴The writer's warning, *loc. cit.*, that the "roialme des Escotois" was named after its lord "Escos" and was not identical with "la terre d'Escoce" is, of course, a mere subterfuge, to render the *roialme* more mysterious.

¹⁵The name appears also in a very corrupt form, "Buza(r)farnan," in the Latin romance, *De Ortu Waluuanii*, pp. 65 ff. of my edition, referred to above. I have shown there, pp. xxiii f., how the corruption came about—also, that the author of the *De Ortu* derived the name from the

The story of Chelinde is, to be sure, of Oriental origin, as I have shown in *The Romanic Review*, I, 384 ff., but, in whatever part of the Orient it may have ultimately originated, there is no likelihood whatever of these Biblical names having been attached to it until the author of the prose *Tristan* took hold of it. He was evidently responsible for the whole nomenclature of the story in its present form.¹⁰

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THE BIRTH-DATE OF BEN JONSON

The seventeenth-century biographers of Jonson have little to say about the date of his birth. Fuller¹ says that he cannot find him in his cradle. Winstanley² attempts to give no date. Neither does Wood³ nor Blunt⁴ nor Aubrey⁵ nor Langbaine,⁶ but in the eighteenth century we get more definite information. On page 155 of Drummond's *Works*, 1711, is printed a copy of *Und*. vii with the

prose *Tristan*. I had not then discovered, however, that the author of the prose *Tristan* took it from the Bible.

¹⁰In my edition of the *Historia Meriadoci and de Ortu Waluuanii*, p. xxiii, note 3, I have noted the resemblance between this story and the Greek romances and inferred from this likeness that the source of the prose *Tristan* for the episode was Greek. It reached the French writer very probably through Byzantine channels.

After completing this article, I observe that W. W. Newell, *The Legend of the Holy Grail and the Perceval of Crestien of Troyes*, p. 59 (Cambridge, Mass., 1902), accepts Heinzel's explanation of the origin of Galahad's name, but adds: "Assonance with *Gales*, Wales, may also have had weight." This is all that he says on the subject. I have tried, however, to prove that this assonance was the chief influence involved. J. S. Tunison, *The Graal Problem from Walter Map to Richard Wagner*, p. 34 (Cincinnati, 1904), has also anticipated me, I observe, in deriving "Sarras" from "Sarrasin." He merely remarks: "'Sarras,' as the name of a city, is plainly an effort to give the Saracens a geographical point of origin."

¹ *Worthies*, 1840, II, 424.

² *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets*, 1687, 123.

³ *Athenae Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, II, 612.

⁴ *De Re Poetica*, 1694.

⁵ *Brief Lives*, ed. Clarke, 1898, II, 11.

⁶ *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets*. 1691, 282.

appended date, January 19, 1619.⁷ In this copy Jonson's age is given as forty-six, and if 1619 be read as N. S. 1620, an easy calculation gives his birth as antecedent to January 19, 1574. The accepted date throughout the eighteenth century is 1574,⁸ though the *Biographia Britannica*⁹ is troubled by the Folio version of *Und.* vii. Whalley¹⁰ gives 1574 without discussion or evidence, and in the nineteenth century Chalmers¹¹ gives June 11, 1574, the day of the month being no doubt supplied by the Folio version of *Und.* xcv.¹² The same date is found in the third edition, 1812, of the *Biographia Dramatica*.¹³ Gifford¹⁴ accepts 1574 (but not June 11), and rebukes the editors of the *Biographia Britannica* for their hesitation. Cunningham,¹⁵ rejecting June 11, thinks that Jonson was born probably in 1572, for he notes that after 1600, the Scotch year began on January 1, and that it is unlikely that Jonson should have been born in the first three weeks of 1573. Symonds¹⁶ says "in 1573." Fleay¹⁷ says: "between 1572 Jan. and 1573 Jan.; probably in 1572." Ward¹⁸ is apparently some-

⁷ In the Brit. Mus. copy the month has dropped out, but other copies contain it; cf. Masson's *Life of Drummond*, 1873, 106.

⁸ Chetwood, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Ben Jonson*, 1756.

⁹ 1750, etc., 2775; but in Note (x), 2784, we find 1574 as "confirmed by so many concurring testimonies." The Folio reads 'seven and forty' instead of 'six and forty.'

¹⁰ *Jonson's Works*, 1756, I, xxxiv.

¹¹ *English Poets*, 1810, v, 443. This date cannot possibly be right, whether 1619 be N. S. or O. S.

¹² *The Epigram to Lady Digby* is numbered xcv in Gifford, 1816, xevi in Cunningham's nine-volume edition, and xvii in his three-volume one. For text, see below.

¹³ Baker, Reed, and Jones; I, 413.

¹⁴ *Jonson's Works*, 1816, I, ii; cf. his note on *Und.* xcv.

¹⁵ Three-vol. ed. (originally issued 1870), I, vii; nine-vol. ed., I, v and 155; ix, 492.

¹⁶ *Ben Jonson*, 1888, I.

¹⁷ *Biog. Chron. of the English Stage*, 1891, I, 340.

¹⁸ In *Encycl. Brit.*, 10th ed.; "about the beginning (N. S.) of the year 1573." In *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Lit.*, 2d ed., 1899, II, 298-9, he says, "in the year 1573," referring to a note in Laing's ed. of *Conversations, O. Sh. Soc.*, 1842, p. 39, in which our attention is first called to the fact of the Scotch year beginning on Jan. 1. In *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., Ward says: "was born, probably in Westminster, in the beginning of the year 1573 (or possibly, if he reckoned by the unadopted modern calendar, 1572; see Castelain, p. 4, note 1)."

what uncertain. An unsuccessful attempt was made by C. T. J. Moore¹⁹ to identify Jonson with "Benjaminus Jonson filius Martini," born at Sutterton, Lincolnshire, Aug. 12, 1574. Herford²⁰ gives Jonson's dates as "1573?-1637," and in the body of the article uses the words, "was born, it is said, in Westminster, in 1572-3." Aronstein²¹ says that Jonson was born in 1572 or 1573, but in any case before Jan. 19, 1573. Castelain²² thinks that the date was probably 1572, and definitively rejects June 11. Schelling²³ states without qualification "in the year 1573." Thorndike²⁴ says: "He was born in Westminster in 1572 or 1573."

If there is no doubt that Jonson was born before Jan. 19, 1573, there is likewise no doubt, as may be calculated from the evidence supplied by Wallace,²⁵ that he was born after May 5, 1572. For, if born on May 5 (or any previous day), 1572, he would have been at least one year old by May 5, 1573, and hence thirty-eight by May 5, 1610. But the deposition found by Wallace fixes his age as thirty-seven on that date. The day of his birth, then, must be sought between May 5, 1572, and January 19, 1573, a period of eight months and thirteen days.²⁶

Before we proceed to a further examination of the question, it may be well to have before us the various bits of evidence usually referred to by writers on the subject.

Und. xcv (xcvi, xcvii, see note 12 above). Folio text.

An Epigram

To my Muse, the Lady Digby, on her
Husband, Sir Kenelme Digby.

¹⁹ *N. & Q.*, 6 Ser., v, 247. Cf. Nicholson, *ibid.*, 354, and G. F. R. B. *ibid.*

²⁰ *D. N. B.*, s. v. Jonson.

²¹ *Ben Jonson*, 1906, 3.

²² *Ben Jonson: L'Homme et l'Œuvre*, 1907, 3-4 and notes.

²³ *Eliz. Drama*, 1908, 465.

²⁴ *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vi, 3 (English ed.).

²⁵ C. W. Wallace, *The Swan Theatre and the Earl of Pembroke's Men*, *Engl. St.*, XLIII., 369, note 2.

²⁶ I see no reason why an editor of Jonson should reject the Folio reading 'seven-and-forty' in *Und.* vii, since, though (as suggested by Castelain and myself independently) it might be due to an over-zealous editor, there is also the possibility that the poem might have been revised by Jonson himself in the following year, as I pointed out in *Anglia* XXXVII, 490. The differences between the two versions are interesting and important.

Tho', happy Muse, thou know my Digby well;
 Yet read him in these lines: He doth excell
 In honour, courtesie, and all the parts
 Court can call hers, or Man could call his Arts. 5
 Hee's prudent, valiant, just, and temperate;
 In him all vertue is beheld in State:
 And he is built like some imperiall roome
 For that to dwell in, and be still at home.
 His brest is a brave Palace, a broad Street
 Where all heroique ample thoughts doe meet: 10
 Where Nature such a large survey hath ta'en,
 As other soules to his dwelt in a Lane:
 Witnesse his Action done at Scanderone;
 Upon my Birth-day the eleventh of June;
 When the Apostle Barnabee the bright 15
 Unto our yeare doth give the longest light,
 In signe the Subject, and the Song will live
 Which I have vow'd posteritie to give.
 Goe, Muse, in, and salute him. Say he be
 Busie, or frowne at first; when he sees thee, 20
 He will cleare up his forehead: thinke thou bring'st
 Good Omen to him, in the note thou sing'st,
 For he doth love my Verses, and will looke
 Upon them, (next to Spenser's noble booke.)
 And praise them too. O! what a fame 't will be? 25
 What reputation to my lines, and me,
 When hee shall read them at the Treasurers bord?
 The knowing Weston, and that learned Lord
 Allowes them? Then, what copies shall be had,
 What transcripts begg'd? how cry'd up, and how glad, 30
 Wilt thou be, Muse, when this shall them befall?
 Being sent to one, they will be read of all.

12mo. variants from F text in *Q. Horatius Flaccus: His Art of Poetry. Englished By Ben: Jonson. With other Workes John Benson. 1640, p. 122.*

Title To Sir Kenelme Digby. An Epigram.		
2 read] take	4 would	8 that] those
3 Honours	6 vertue] action	12 others . . . dwell
13 Witnesse his birth-day, the eleventh of June,		
14 And his great action done at Scanderoone.		
15 That day, which I predestin'd am to sing,		
16 For Brittain's honour, and to Charles my King:		
17-8 (Omit these two lines)		
21 cheare	27 shall] doth	30 begg'd] made
22 Omen] fortune	29 will	31 them] then

MS. Ashmole 174, ff. 75-9, contains a horoscope as well as an enumeration of striking incidents in Digby's early life.

In the figure the date of his birth is given as

1603. Julij, iuxta computū vet. Anglie.

D. H. M. "

10. 17 30 4 Post Merid.

Below:

"according to the English account the 11. of July betweene 5. and 6. of the clocke in the morning, wch is the 10th day of that moneth, and 17. houres and a halfe after noone according to the reformed Calender it is so many houres after the 20th day "

MS. Ashmole 36, f. 117, contains the following lines, ordinarily attributed to Richard Ferrar. They have been several times printed, and doubtless other *MS.* copies exist.

An Epitaph on the Learned Sr Kenelme

Digby, who died the 11th of June 1665.

Under this Tombe the matchless Digby lyes
Digby the great, the valiant & the wise;
This ages wonder for his noble parts,
Skild in six Tongues, & learn'd in all the Arts;
Borne on the day he died, the 11th of June,
And that day bravely fought at Scanderoone,
Tis rare that one & the same day should bee,
His day of Birth, & death & Victory.

Now the editors²⁷ of Jonson, beginning with Whalley, and all of the more important critics, have accepted "his" for "my" in line 14 of the *Epigram*, though at the same time they have refused to accept the other 12mo alterations in the text of the poem. In other words, their position has apparently²⁸ been that the Folio text is the proper text except that in this line some blunder has been committed by the editor or printer. But who was the editor? Digby himself, as has been quite recently pointed out.²⁹ It is quite true that the proof-reading on the volume was not carefully done (though there are numerous signs that it was by no means entirely

²⁷ That is, the important editors. Chalmers does not, but as pointed out above, note 11, his date must be wrong either as to day or as to year.

²⁸ I say 'apparently,' as no full discussion of the *textual* problems offered by this poem or by the Folio of 1640 in general, has ever been published.

²⁹ W. W. Greg, *Handlist of English Plays*, etc., Bibl. Soc., 1900, 56.

neglected), but such a mistake as this is not likely to have been passed over. Moreover, the Folio text of *Underwoods* as a whole, is, I believe, much more reliable than it has generally been thought to be, and this fact, not yet fully demonstrated to the public,³⁰ constitutes a further support for the reading "my" in this instance.

What are the grounds on which editors have discarded "my"? Whalley,³¹ after saying, "We have a slight corruption . . . *my* should be *his*" ("slight corruption" is good, very good), attacks Antony Wood :³² 1) for asserting that, though Digby was born on July 11, 1603, yet Jonson changed July to June for rime's sake; 2) for asserting that the battle of Scanderoon was fought on the 16th of June; and 3) for quoting two lines of Ferrar's epitaph and yet disputing "the authority of our poet for the time of his [Digby's] birth."

The second of the three points mentioned by Whalley need not detain us, for he shows that the battle of Scanderoon was fought on the 11th of June, not the 16th, as, indeed, we know from other sources³³ than the descriptive pamphlet that formed his authority.

In regard to the first point Whalley offers no proof (probably he knew nothing of the horoscope). The notion that Jonson changed July to June for rime's sake³⁴ is grotesque enough, and Whalley doubtless thought that it needed no refutation. Jonson was not the man to tamper with history in that fashion.

Now, the date of Digby's birth is not recorded elsewhere than in the horoscope, the Benson version of the poem, and the epitaph.

³⁰ I have touched on this matter in "Studies in Ben Jonson," *Anglia* xxxvii, 486 ff.; xxxviii, 115 ff.

³¹ *Jonson's Works*, 1756, vii, 10.

³² *Athenae Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, iii, 688.

³³ Digby's *Journal of a Voyage into the Mediterranean*, ed. Bruce, Camden Soc., 1868, 38.

³⁴ Wood, l. c., Digby "was born at Gothurst on the eleventh day * of July 1603, (1 Jac. 1.) yet Ben. Johnson for rhyme sake will have † it June, thus;

Witness thy action done at Scanderoon

Upon thy birth-day the eleventh of June."

There is no authority for the reading 'thy' in either line.

* As in the book of nativities collected by Dr. Rich. Napier of Buckinghamshire, ms. in the hands of Elias Ashmole, esq.; and in an almanack for 1673, published by Joh. Gadbury.

† In his *Underwoods*, p. 243 [245].

Benson's version has no authority as a text,³⁵ but, it will be observed, might easily enough have supplied the information for Ferrar, the writer of the epitaph. He might have accepted a tradition as to the coincidence of the day of Digby's birth with that of the battle, and this tradition might have had its start in the Benson version. Of this there were two impressions, in 4to and in 12mo, and there is some reason to suppose that these two volumes were well known in the seventeenth century. The picturesqueness of the coincidence, in an age much given to laying serious as well as sportive stress on such *nugae*, would have been favorable to the persistence of a tradition of the kind.

As for the horoscope, Gifford³⁶ treated it with derision, but apparently had not seen it, for all that he says is with reference to a vague remark by Aubrey: "Mr. Elias Ashmole assures me from two or three nativities by Dr. Napier, that Ben Jonson was mistaken, and did it for the Rhyme sake."³⁷ "We have here a couple of dreamers—but they are not worth an argument," says Gifford, who believed, with the Lady of Mumpers' Dingle, that there is "nothing like Long Melford for shortness all the world over." Yet we have the best assurance³⁸ that the nativity given above is in Digby's own hand. There is, then, no difficulty in understanding why Digby allowed the Folio reading "my," to pass. Is it not barely possible that, as an intimate friend of Jonson, he may have known the day of Jonson's birth, just as he may reasonably be supposed to have known the day of his own? I do not see why we should disturb the Folio reading on the authority of the semi-piratical issues of John Benson or on the authority of Ferrar's

³⁵ Cf. my article, cited above, note 30.

³⁶ 1816, ix, 47 note.

³⁷ *Brief Lives*, ed. Clarke, i, 224. Aubrey gives the Napier nativities, which do not seem to agree as to hours with *Ash.* 174 (though Bruce, *v. infra*, says that the Ashmole volume is identical with the Napier collection mentioned by Wood. Wood does not give the nativities), nor with each other.

³⁸ *D. N. B.*, s. v. Digby; cf. Bruce, *Digby's Journal*, u. s., xi. Macray, of the Bodleian, agreed with Bruce. Bruce accepts the MS. as decisive with respect to Digby's birth, and thinks Ben Jonson and Ferrar mistaken. Ferrar undoubtedly was, but the point of this article is to show that Jonson was not pronouncing as to Digby's birth, but as to his own. Bruce very naturally accepted the edited text of Whalley and Gifford, and would seem to have known nothing of the Folio reading, "my."

epitaph, which may very well have derived its own authority from them.

Up to this point we have been merely re-valuing evidence that has long been known to exist. There is, however, another bit of evidence that has not been hitherto mentioned and that strongly supports the conclusions reached.

I gave *all* of the variant readings of the 12mo for a particular purpose, namely, to show that the 12mo version belongs to a quite different recension of the poem from that represented by the Folio. A few of the differences (ll. 3, 4, 12, 21, 29, 31) have no significance for our present argument, though they have a value from other points of view. The rest, however, and particularly those in ll. 13-18, are of a quite different character.

There are four ways of accounting for these differences. We may suppose, if we choose, that the 12mo readings did not proceed from Jonson, but were entirely due to copyists or printers. The supposition is a violent one, considering the character of some of them, but perhaps not absurd. Yet, if we make it, we must remember that the reading "his birthday" will go down in the common ruin; it shares the fate of the others.

We may suppose that the 12mo version is the true text throughout, that all of its readings are sound, and that the Folio readings are corrupt. This supposition does such violence to probabilities that it has been tacitly rejected by all the editors of Jonson, who take over from the 12mo only the one reading in question, and is at variance with all that we know of the history of the two volumes.

We may again suppose that the 12mo, though giving us an unrevised and hence inferior text in general, preserves the true reading in this instance, and that the Folio displays the blunder of scribe or compositor. This supposition would seem to be the one which, as earlier remarked, has been generally adopted in ignorance of the fact that the reading "my birthday" had apparently been passed by Digby and in ignorance of the true value attaching to the evidence concerning Sir Kenelm's birthday.

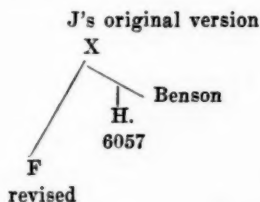
Finally, we may suppose that the 12mo represents on the whole an earlier version of the poem, which Jonson later revised into the Folio form, and that the reading "his" was a blunder of copyist or printer for which he is in no way responsible and which is easily explicable if we note the "his" occurring just above in lines 12

and 13. This is the supposition that agrees best with the argument up to this point.

Now, if we should encounter a copy of the poem which belongs to the 12mo recension and yet in this particular reading agrees with the Folio, should we not have almost what Bacon calls an *experimentum crucis*? Such a copy exists in *MS. Harl. 6057*, f. 20. The title differs somewhat, and there are enough minor differences to show that the copy was not made directly from the 12mo. But almost all of the variants in the 12mo list above are to be found in it. The important passage runs:

13. Wittnesse my birthday the Eleaventh of June
14. and his action done att Scanderoone
15. that day which I predestinde am to sing
16. for Brittain's honor, and to Charles my kinge

and ll. 17-18 are omitted.



The statement that Jonson was born on the 11th of June apparently belongs to both recensions of the poem. The statement that the 11th of June was Digby's birthday is apparently wrong. The day falls within our assigned limits, May 5, 1572, Jan. 19, 1573. We have no evidence in the shape of birth registrations or certificates, but in default of these we have, if our argument is sound, made it highly probable, almost certain, that Jonson was born on the day in question, and we have established in one more important case the comparative trustworthiness of the Folio text of *Underwoods*.

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GERMAN STANZAS FROM JOH. WERLIN'S *RHYTH- MORUM VARIETAS*

Among the mss. of the Royal Library in Munich is a valuable musical work in six folio volumes, collected and written in 1646-47 by Johannes Werlin, professor in the old Benedictine monastery of Seeon near Chiemsee.¹ Its title is: *Rhythmorum varietas. Typi, exempla et modulationes rhythmorum. Opera et studia*. The first two volumes contain hundreds of single stanzas of various kinds up to 30 lines in length, in Latin and German, with the scansion on opposite pages. In Vols. III-V the industrious pater repeats the texts (sometimes adding more) and gives several thousand tunes,—from one to as many as thirty for each of the texts up to 19 lines in length.²

According to F. M. Böhme³ many of the tunes are secular melodies and hymn tunes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while the rest are Werlin's own compositions or exercises. Of his texts the greater part was probably borrowed. Some of his secular stanzas are from songs that were widely current in the sixteenth century. In a number of these Werlin made humorous changes; of others he gave comical parodies.⁴ F. M. Böhme made use of Werlin's song fragments for his collections,⁵ and I found in the Benedictine's work bits of a few of the same songs which had long before been quoted by Fischart.⁶ That a part of the texts was made up by Werlin himself is evident from the following humorous confession from the end of one of his longer model stanzas (p. 1140):
 "... Wiewol auch ich/ Oftt exemplificier gar liederlich/ Altfränkisch/ Vnd denckisch/ Yedoch bisweilen/ Wan der Planet/ Jupiter zum höchsten steht/ Reim ich mit sibenzehen Zeilen."

In the following I should like to call attention to some of the shorter German stanzas which seem to have been composed by

¹ Cod. germ. monac. 3636-41, paged 1-4579 as one work. (*Die deutschen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München*, 1866, p. 308 f.).

² The work seems to be unfinished, since the texts with 20-30 lines were not set to music.

³ *Altdeutsches Liederbuch*, p. 775 f.; Erk-Böhme, *Liederhort*, Vol. I, p. xxiv.

⁴ Cf. the stanza numbered 9 below.

⁵ Cf. *Altd. Liederb.*, Nos. 44, 273, 332, 451.

⁶ *PBB*, xxxv, p. 428, No. 41; p. 445, Nos. 86 and 87; p. 454, No. 116.

Werlin. They show him to be something more than a mere unthinking rimester intent only upon filling out with so many words his arbitrary stanza forms, even though for his purpose the meter and the musical setting, rather than the texts, were the chief concern. He put himself plainly on the side of the "Burgersmann" against the potentates in that Great War and deplored the spread of artificial foreign influences ("À la mode") in his country. Werlin's ardent praise of vocal music makes clear that his heart was in his work; his occupation with the songs of men did not, however, dull his ear to the music of the nightingale, as is evident from a little stanza (No. 12 below) quite in the tone of the *Volkslied* of older days. His fresh, unspoiled, really human humor makes him stand out in sharp contrast to many of the well-known authors of his century. His might have been one of the better names if he had stayed out in the world and busied his mind and pen with something different from the *Rhythmorum Varietas*.

1

- P. 224: Als man zehlt sechzehnhundert
Auch sechs und vierzig Jahr,
Sich yederman verwundert
Das liegen
Vnd kriegen
In allen Landen war.

2

- P. 162: Die Soldaten seind vnbeschaiden,
Das waist man laider wol:
Fluechen wie die Hayden,
Man kan ihns nit erleiden,
Sie drincken sich stets vol.

3

- P. 410: Ich hab verhofft zu Münster werde Frid,
So hör ich aber laider es sey nit:
Das Römisch Reich ist fail,
Dem Feind wird es zu Thail,
Die Puncten seind unmöglich,
Zum maisten Thail betrüglic,
Geführt am Narren sail.

4

- P. 614: Euch schwör ich ihr Potentaten,
Gott, der ein Burgersmann

Umm ein Stündlein finden kan,
 Wirdt von euch all dise Thaten,
 Dises Mörden, Raub, und Brand,
 So ihr under ewren Namen
 Lasset ungestrafet ahmen,¹—
 Fordern von ewrer Hand.

5

- P. 104: Alamode macht mir bang
 Weil der Teutschen Undergang
 In der newen Sucht
 Seinen Anfang sucht.

6

- P. 178: Das stettige studieren
 Thuet manichem verführen
 Sein blödes Hiren:
 Dan wer sich nit kan massen,
 Der fehlt gar weit der Strassen.

7

- P. 92: Wan ich vil Mucken hab,
 Leg ich sie mir bald ab:
 Mit einem Glasz vol gueten Wein
 Treib ich die Mucken ausz und ein.

8

- P. 420: Es ist ein Schand
 Das in dem Schwabenland
 Das Bier so schlecht,
 Das ichs nit drincken mücht:
 Ist gemacht ausz Haberstro,
 Dessen seind die Schwaben fro
In dulci júbilo.

9

- P. 134: Ich gieng für eines reichen Hausz,
 Man fragt mich wer ich were?
 Ich bin ein armer Staudiausz
 Ganz hungrig, durstig, und auch blausz:
 Ich äsz und tränck gar gere.²

¹ ahmen, cf. MHG. ämen: 'visieren,' 'endorse.'

² Also on p. 1750 with music and the variants: Studiosz; bloßz; geren. Cf. Böhme, *Altd. Liederb.*, Nr. 42, (p. 527). It is a parody on the old song of "ein armer Schwartenhals."

10

- P. 292; 294: Zu nachts leg ich mich in das Beth,
 Vnd schlaff mit andern in die Wett:
 Zu Morgens früe
 Hab ich vil Mühe
 Wolt geren oft noch schlaffen,
 Hab aber vil zu schaffen.

11

- P. 300: Im Beth ich mich hinwider reib
 Dieweil mir meinen krancken Leib,
 Die Flöh so grimmig beissen,
 Dardurch die Leilach zreissen:
 O hett ich einen Fund
 Wie ichs vertreiben kundt.

12

- P. 230: O Nachtigal
 Du edler Schall
 Wan kommt die Sommerszeit,
 Dein süsser Hall
 Zu Berg und Thal
 Macht uns ein grosse Frewd.

13

- P. 300: Man singt der schönen Gsänger vil
 Ihr hohe Kunst ich stets preysen will,
 So lang ich hab das Leben:
 Ein schönes Gsang
 Wans gleich ist lang
 Nichts liebers ist mir darneben.

14

The poem below might be called *Das Lied von der eisernen Stange*. It is of interest as representing a type which a century and a half later appeared in its highest form in Schiller's *Glocke*. Werlin makes the smithy in its busiest minute not only visible but fairly audible. The humor in the master smith's good-naturedly gruff words is heightened by Werlin's characteristic droll distortions of certain words for the sake of the rime, as in adapting "darauff" and "Gaffer" to "Schnauffer." These verses are the only example of a "stanza of thirty lines" in the *Rhythmorum Varietas*. They are given here as in the original, except for punctuation.

- P. 1254, 1256: Drey Schmid bey einem Abosz⁹ stunden,
 Es waren drey Kolschwartz Kunden;
 Ein *Contrapunct* sie fiengen an,
 Dasz in der Schmitten erklang.
 Der Hamer,
 Ein Jamer,
 Fiel nider
 Herwider,
 Gab ihnen den Tact darzue.
 Sie sangen,
 Sie sprangen,
 Vnd schwangen
 Die stangen,
 Es ist genuë.
 "Besser darauffer,
 Faul Gauffer!
 Ihr Schnauffer!
 Den Hamer thuet schwingen!
 Die Klingen
 Muesz springen!
 Noch höher thuet zucken!
 Den Rucken
 Fein bucken!
 Thuet dapffer drauff' klopfen,
 Faul dropffen!
 Widhopffen!
 Yetzt geht es schon besser
 Vnd rescher,
 Ihr Presser!—
 Lasst nach! die Stang ist gemacht!"

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THE DATE OF COMPOSITION OF *MANON LESCAUT*

The date of the first publication of Abbé Prévost's masterpiece, *Manon Lescaut*, has been often given as 1733.¹ It still is occasionally so given, but HARRISSE has shown that it first appeared at Amsterdam in 1731 as Volume VII of Prévost's *Mémoires et Avan-*

⁹ = Ambosz.

¹ This is the date of its first publication in France. Cf. Henry HARRISSE, *l'Abbé Prévost* (Paris, 1896), pp. 173-75.

tures d'un homme de qualité.² HARRISSE was of the opinion that *Manon Lescaut* was composed while the Abbé was a fugitive in England during the years 1728-1730,³ but he admitted also as a possibility the hypothesis that the novel was written at the Abbey of Saint-Ouen in 1722-1723, an opinion cherished by Flaubert, whose house at Croisset had belonged to the monks of Saint-Ouen.⁴ HARRISSE's objection to this hypothesis is as follows: "Mais alors, il [Prévost] aurait emporté sous son scapulaire le manuscrit d'un livre aussi compromettant pour un religieux, dans les sept monastères où successivement on l'envoya, puis à Paris et en Angleterre, ne se décidant à le faire imprimer que dix ans après? C'est difficile à admettre."⁵ The length of this interval is HARRISSE's only objection. Is it really a serious obstacle to thinking the date of composition was earlier? Are there reasons which favor the earlier date?

With regard to the objection urged by HARRISSE, it seems that Prévost, even though not distinguished for his caution, might well be granted the forethought necessary to see the scandal that such a book, written by an active member of the Benedictines, would create. When it did finally appear in France about ten years later, it was shortly confiscated by the authorities and its circulation forbidden.⁶ Then, however, Prévost had fled from the order to which he had belonged, and had less reason to fear its opinion.

The existence of *Manon Lescaut* as early as 1722-1723 would explain the mysterious quarrel which took place at Saint-Ouen between Prévost and the Jesuit Lebrun, and motives of prudence may finally have induced Prévost to withdraw from publication the defense⁷ he had already prepared.

A more important reason favoring the earlier date lies in *Manon Lescaut's* preëminence over Prévost's other novels, a superiority to be explained satisfactorily only by the theory that, more completely and directly than are his other works, it is an outgrowth of the author's personal experience. "Abbé Prévost," it has been said, "put his entire youth into *Manon Lescaut*."⁸ That the unhappy

² *Id.*, pp. 167-68.

³ *Id.*, pp. 165-66, and Henry HARRISSE, *la Vie monastique de l'abbé Prévost* (Paris, 1903), p. 17.

⁴ HARRISSE, *la Vie monastique*, p. 26.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ HARRISSE, *l'Abbé Prévost*, pp. 174-76.

⁷ *Id.*, pp. 108-09.

⁸ Arsène Housaye, *Men and Women of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1852), Vol. I, p. 125.

love which furnished the basis for the novel came during the years 1719-1720, before Prévost was admitted to the Benedictine order, seems hardly to be questioned.⁹ He says himself: "Vif et sensible au plaisir, j'avouerai, dans les termes de M. de Cambray, que la sagesse demandoit bien des précautions qui m'échappèrent. . . . La malheureuse fin d'un engagement trop tendre¹⁰ me conduisit enfin au *Tombeau*; c'est le nom que je donne à l'Ordre respectable où j'allai m'ensevelir."¹¹ As to the nature of his experience, if not as to its details, this is sufficiently explicit. It is evident, too, that the passage has reference to the period before Prévost entered the order. As the duration of the novitiate could not be less than a year, and as Prévost took his vows before the Benedictines November 9, 1721,¹² his entry as a novice into the order must have been not later than November, 1720, and his acquaintance with the original of Manon would have come during the years 1719-1720 at the latest. His determination to enter the monastery followed doubtless very close upon the unfortunate outcome of his love, when his grief was still intense enough to make life in the outside world seem repellent. Prévost was then twenty-two or twenty-three years old. His youth and his liberty at this time¹³ furnish very strong additional evidence for placing the Manon experience here rather than in any later period.

In 1722-1723 the momentary calm which had come to the Abbé after taking his vows deserted him and left him once more a prey to an emotional crisis which was but a return of the experience immediately preceding his entry into the monastery.¹⁴ To place

⁹ This question has been raised, however, by V. Schroeder in *l'Abbé Prévost, sa vie, ses romans* (Paris, 1898), pp. 11-13. M. Schroeder prefers to place the love affair years later at The Hague, and interprets as referring only to financial difficulties the "malheureuses affaires" mentioned in 1731 by Prévost as the cause of his entry into the Benedictine order (letter to Dom Clément de la Rue, cited by HARRISSE, *l'Abbé Prévost*, p. 163). For the answer to this objection, see *infra*.

¹⁰ "Un engagement trop tendre" seems to dispose of M. Schræder's hypothesis.

¹¹ *Le Pour et Contre, ouvrage périodique d'un goût nouveau* (Didot, Paris, 1733-1740), Vol. IV, pp. 38-39.

¹² HARRISSE, *l'Abbé Prévost*, pp. 104-05.

¹³ He was not again free until eight years later, when he sought refuge in England.

¹⁴ We have the proof in Prévost's own words: "Je n'aperçois que trop

the composition of *Manon Lescaut* at this time, so soon after the experience which formed its basis and while Prévost's heart was still torn by disappointment and grief, would make much more comprehensible the great gulf which separates this one novel from all the rest of the author's works. If we suppose nearly ten years to have passed before the composition of *Manon Lescaut*, it is reasonable to think that time would have exerted its mellowing effect, and have blunted the poignancy of his feelings, so that we should have had perhaps only another Cléveland and Fanny in the place of Des Grieux and Manon. If the composition of the novel took place in the years 1722-1723, the reason for its superiority becomes at once apparent. Written in 1729-1730, during the already well-filled English period,¹⁵ it would be an anomaly; written

tous les jours, de quoi je redeviendrois capable, si je perdois un moment de vue la grande règle, ou même si je regardois avec la moindre complaisance certaines images qui ne se présentent que trop souvent à mon esprit, et qui n'auroient encore que trop de force pour me séduire, quoiqu'elles soient à demi effacées. Qu'on a de peine, mon cher frère, à reprendre un peu de vigueur, quand on s'est fait une habitude de sa foiblesse; et qu'il en coûte à combattre pour la victoire, quand on a trouvé long-tems de la douceur à se laisser vaincre!" (Harris, *la Vie monastique*, pp. 25-26.) The passage is from a letter written from Saint-Ouen at this period. It shows clearly that the old wound has not healed. In spite of his probably sincere attempts to put from his mind the bitter-sweet memories of the past, it would not be at all strange if they proved too strong for him and led him to seek the morbid pleasure of living them over again in the pages of his novel.

Another passage written by the Abbé himself is equally explicit. He says: "Cependant le sentiment me revint, et je reconnus que ce cœur si vif étoit encore brûlant sous la cendre. La perte de ma liberté m'affligea jusqu'aux larmes. Il étoit trop tard. Je cherchai ma consolation pendant cinq ou six ans dans les charmes de l'étude. Mes livres étoient mes amis fidèles; mais ils étoient morts comme moi. Enfin, je pris occasion d'un petit mécontentement, et je me retirai" (*Pour et Contre*, iv, p. 39). He fled from the order and went to England in November, 1728. The "five or six years" would bring him back exactly to the Saint-Ouen period (1722-1723). At that time his heart was still "brûlant," and the loss of his liberty brought him to "tears." What better time for the composition of such a masterpiece as *Manon*?

"During his first trip to England, which lasted about two years from November, 1728, Prévost had learned the language and had begun to familiarize himself with the literature; he had toured the greater part of southern England; he had composed Volumes v and vi of the *Mémoires et*

at Saint-Ouen seven years earlier, it becomes at once an intelligible and direct outgrowth of the author's own experience, the memory of which at that very time was returning to throw his soul into turmoil.

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COMMENT ON SOME POSTHUMOUS POEMS AND FRAGMENTS OF LEOPARDI

I. LETTA LA VITA DI VITTORIO ALFIERI SCRITTA DA ESSO

In chiuder la tua storia ansante il petto
Vedrò, dissi, il tuo marmo, Alfieri mio,
Vedrò la parte aprica e il dolce tetto
Onde dicesti a questa terra addio.

Così dissi inaccorto. E forse ch'io
Pria sarò steso in sul funereo letto,
E de l'ossa nel flebile ricetto
Prima infinito adombrerammi obbligo:

Misero quadrilustre. E tu nemica
La sorte avesti pur: ma ti rimbomba
Fama che cresce e un dì fia detta antica.

Di me non suonerà l'eterna tromba;
Starommi ignoto e non avrò chi dica,
A piangere i' verrò su la tua tomba.

Primo sonetto composto tutto la notte avanti il 27 Novembre 1817 stando in letto, prima di addormentarmi, avendo poche ore avanti finito di leggere la vita dell'Alfieri, e pochi minuti prima, stando pure in letto, biasimata la mia facilità di rimare, e detto fra me che dalla mia penna non uscirebbe mai sonetto; venutomi poi veramente prima il desiderio e proponimento di visitare il sepolcro

Avantures d'un homme de qualité and most of the first four volumes of *Cléveland*. This is much for two years. It is true that Prévost was a facile and productive writer. Moreover, *Manon Lescaut* is short. If, however, it was written at this time with the others, to what lucky accident shall we attribute the difference between it and all of Prévost's other works? In default of positive proof it seems that the balance of probability leans toward the hypothesis that the masterpiece was Prévost's first work, and that it was composed at Saint-Ouen in 1722-1723.

e la casa dell'Alfieri, e dopo il pensiero che probabilmente non potrei. Scritto ai 29 di Novembre.

This sonnet, with the comment that accompanies it, was contained among the *Carte Napoletane* left in the hands of Antonio Ranieri after the death of Leopardi.¹ It is very illuminating as to the nature of Leopardi's feelings at the time, especially when it is compared with other documents belonging to the years 1816 and 1817.

In 1816 Leopardi was unable to continue his philological work with the devotion that he had manifested in earlier years. However, he composed a number of brief articles and translations, which he desired to see published. Hence arose a correspondence with Antonio Fortunato Stella² and with Giuseppe Acerbi.³ Moreover, he ventured to send copies of his translation of the second book of the *Aeneid* to Angelo Mai, Vincenzo Monti, and Pietro Giordani.⁴ All of these eminent men regarded the performance of their youthful contemporary as an evidence of almost unprecedented precocity. Giordani in particular was impressed to such an extent that the affair led to the famous and voluminous exchange of letters that exercised so great an influence on the career of Leopardi. Encouraged as he was by the eulogies of literary celebrities, his craving for fame and his faith in his own ability were strengthened. The so-called "literary conversion" of Leopardi, which was probably nothing more than natural development aided by external causes,⁵ was coincident with the first phase of the correspondence with Giordani.

Toward the end of the year 1816, and throughout the first part of the following year, Leopardi's health grew steadily worse. According to his own statement, he was unable for seven months to do anything but walk about in solitude.⁶ Sickness and inability to devote himself to the accomplishment of his cherished dreams

¹ Published in *Scritti Vari Inediti di Giacomo Leopardi dalle Carte Napoletane*, Firenze, Successori Le Monnier, 1910, p. 17.

² Editor and publisher of *Lo Spettatore* in Milan.

³ Editor and publisher of the *Biblioteca Italiana* in Milan.

⁴ Feb. 21st, 1817.

⁵ Lack of ability to continue scholarly work, and the influence of Giordani and others.

⁶ See *Epistolario di Giacomo Leopardi*, Vol. I, p. 91 (dated August 28th, 1817).

produced in Leopardi's mind a deep melancholy, accompanied by a foreboding of death. At the age of eighteen he was face to face with the most gloomy of prospects. It seemed as if the very efforts he had made to attain fame had, by wrecking his health, prevented the realization of his ambitions. His expectation of death, indicated in letters to Giordani, is directly stated in the poem entitled *Appressamento della Morte*.⁷

Thus we find in Leopardi, before he reaches the age of twenty years, a terrible conflict induced by his sharpened desire for a lasting literary fame and his feeling of the imminence of death. The mental tortures caused by the interplay of emotion and reflection in his sensitive nature can scarcely be imagined. It is small wonder that the foundations of pessimism were laid in his soul before the real beginning of his literary career, and that the continuation of his agony made his pessimism grow blacker and blacker as time went on.

The conflict between life and death that raged in Leopardi's heart in the years 1816 and 1817 is convincingly illustrated in this sonnet that describes his impressions after reading the life of Alfieri. It was written just at the time when his feelings must have reached a climax.⁸ The first quatrain describes the effect produced upon the reader by the perusal of Alfieri's autobiography. He is anxious at once to visit the home and the last resting place of the great dramatist.⁹ In the second quatrain Leopardi expresses his haunting fear of death; it is particularly terrible when we consider that a boy of nineteen years feels that his life may end before he can make a journey by no means unreasonably long. In the first tercet after a brief apostrophe to himself as a "misero quadrilustre," he proceeds to a short appreciation of the life of

⁷ This poem, written in November and December, 1816, is published in full in the *Scritti Letterari di Giacomo Leopardi*, ordinati e riveduti, etc., per cura di Giovanni Mestica, Firenze, Successori Le Monnier, 1899, Vol. II, pp. 187-209; the first part of the first canto, with alterations, is found among the *Canti*.

⁸ Nov. 29th, 1817. On December 11th Geltrude Cassi visited Recanati for the first time, and awakened the feeling of love in the poet's heart, inspiring him to write his two elegies. Although he did not lose his dread of approaching death, he doubtless secured some distraction.

⁹ When Leopardi had complained of the restrictions of Recanati, Giordani had reminded him of the contentment of Alfieri in Asti; see *Epistolario*, Vol. III, p. 83.

Alfieri, in which he lays particular stress upon the fame gained by his illustrious fellow-countryman. Finally, in the three lines that conclude the poem, Leopardi utters a personal lament. He will possess no glory after death; no one will come to weep upon his tomb.

Although this sonnet is extremely interesting as a guide to Leopardi's state of mind, it is not surprising that he chose to overlook it in publishing his approved poetry. It shared the fate of the majority of his early compositions. It could hardly be claimed that a rather unpolished piece of verse like this deserves a place beside the exquisite productions of maturer years.

II. CANZONE SULLA GRECIA

Nostra amica, madre, nelle scienze ed arti e lettere maestra, è voce che siamo sua colonia ec. ec. si porti l'antica storia, è giusto che le siamo grati, le rendiamo quel che ci ha dato, si ec. entusiasmo di compassione e di gratitudine, stato suo presente, stato antico, pittura delle principali gesta antiche in compendio giudizioso e veramente vivo e poetico, basta che risorgano in lei le buone discipline, non è morto il suo sacro fuoco, rivivrà la Grecia, apostrofe a quelli che ve le riconducono, sieno greci, sieno stranieri tutti parimenti obbligatissimi alla infelice, esortazioni ai greci, preghiere ec. ec. lodi di quei popoli greci che si mantengono colla forza in una certa libertà, come i Minotti s'io non erro, si può anche introdurre qualche storia che formi un racconto principale nella canzone e la chiuda con un'orazione p. e. del tempo della lega Achea quando la Grecia era infelice quasi come adesso se bene bisogna nascondere l'esito di quegli sforzi che fu sfortunato. Madre della grazia e sua introduttrice nella vita. Era il mondo ec. la Grecia rivedendo dall'Egitto le cognizioni rozze e nude di grazia le ne ammatò ec. ec. Per confortarla a confidar di vincere i turchi bisogna ricordarle le sue antiche vittor. sui barbari, come fa il Petrarca appunto nella Canz. O aspettata. Turchi arabi e caldei. Del popolo infelice d'oriente ec. quantunque anche i gr. sieno orientali ed il Petr. non citi se non le vittor. sui persiani. Conquiste d'Alessandro. L'Egitto e l'Asia e tutto l'oriente ubbidiente alla Grecia. Ed anche allora eravate pochi ec. Descriz. lirica di quelle conquiste.

This rough outline is all that we possess of Leopardi's canzone on Greece.¹⁰ Notwithstanding his fervent admiration for Greece as the most glorious nation in that ancient world which he loved so

¹⁰ For the outline, see *Scritti Vari*, p. 54; the date given there is 1820-1821.

well, and in spite of his eagerness to pay tribute to the mother of science, art, and letters, he has left only a few tantalizing and ill-connected lines to show that he meditated the composition of a poem similar in nature to his patriotic canzoni. It would indeed be strange if Leopardi had not desired to write a poetical appreciation of Greece. The almost endless succession of eulogies of ancient, and especially of Grecian and Athenian, civilization, that are found in the *Zibaldone*, might lead us to expect a succession of poems on the value and beauty of antiquity. Instead of that he has expressed his knowledge of antiquity in the *Canti* in a multitude of subtle ways, devoting his vast store of erudition to the task of perfecting his art.

In the lines that precede this comment is found the direct evidence of an intention to write a canzone on Greece. The reader is immediately reminded of the other patriotic poems, and particularly of the one to Italy. There is a considerable likeness in the ideas that form the groundwork of the two compositions. Leopardi contemplates the greatness of ancient Greece, and contrasts it with the modern situation, in much the same way as he considers a similar discrepancy in the history of his native land. He appeals to Greeks and to the friends of Greece to save the beloved and unfortunate country;¹¹ in his canzone to Italy he offers himself as a defender of his native land. Again, the return to Simonides in the earlier poem¹² is paralleled by the plan to close the Grecian hymn with an oration represented as coming from the time of the Achaean League. The words that terminate the sketch are attempts to clarify his ideas, to describe the triumphs of the men of antiquity as an example and inspiration to their descendants.

There is also a striking difference between the two canzoni. The unfinished one is cold and dead in comparison with its more fortunate predecessor. That is not surprising, in view of the fact that one is a mere outline, while the other is a polished poem. However, we possess also the sketch of Leopardi's ideas as he jotted them down in preparation of the poem to Italy.¹³ The contrast

¹¹ No doubt Leopardi was influenced by the efforts being made at the time in behalf of Greek independence.

¹² The canzone to Italy belongs to 1818.

¹³ See *Scritti Vari*, pp. 18-20; the sketch is entitled *Argomento d'una Canzone sullo Stato Presente dell'Italia*; it is accompanied by a reproduction of the manuscript.

between that sketch and the later one, which forms the subject of this comment, is illuminating. The inspiration to express himself in poetic form seems to be impelling the author in his earlier outline. The rough draft of his canzone to Italy is instinct with life; in many cases he finds at the first effort the very words and phrases that he later embodies in the published poem. In the *Canzone sulla Grecia*, on the other hand, he can furnish only the bare framework of ideas. The will and the desire to do homage to the object of his veneration are present, but he cannot for the time being instil into his conceptions the breath of emotion and passion that will make them live as elements of a work of art. We may be sure that Leopardi's love for Hellas would never have allowed him to approve of anything that did not represent the true and well-rounded expression of his deep affection.

III. AD ARIMANE

Re delle cose, autor del mundo, arcana
Malvagità, sommo potere e somma
Intelligenza, eterno
Dator de' mali e reggitor del moto,

io non so se questo ti faccia felice, ma mira e godi ec. contemplando eternam. ec.

produzione e distruzione ec. per uccider partorisce ec. sistema del mondo, tutto patimen. Natura è come un bambino che disfa subito il fatto. Vecchiezza. Noia e passioni piene di dolore e disperazioni: amore.

I selvaggi e le tribù primitive, sotto diverse forme, non riconoscono che te. Ma i popoli civili ec. te con diversi nomi il volgo appella Fato, natura e Dio. Ma tu sei Arimane, tu quello che ec.

E il mondo civile t'invoca.

Taccio le tempeste, le pesti ec. tuoi doni, che altro non sai donare. Tu dai gli ardori e i ghiacci.

E il mondo delira cercando nuovi ordini e leggi e spera perfezione. Ma l'opra tua rimane immutabile, perchè p. natura dell'uomo sempre regneranno l'ardimento e l'inganno, e la sincerità e la modestia resteranno indietro, e la fortuna sarà nemica al valore, e il merito non sarà buono a farsi largo, e il giusto e il debole sarà oppresso ec. ec.

Vivi, Arimane e trionfi, e sempre trionferai.

Invidia dagli antichi attribuita agli dei verso gli uomini.

Animali destinati in cibo. Serpente Boa. Nume pietoso ec.

Perchè, dio del male, hai tu posto nella vita qualche apparenza di piacere? l'amore? . . . per travagliarci col desiderio, col confronto degli altri e del tempo nostro passato ec.?

Io non so se tu ami le lodi o le bestemmie ec. Tua lode sarà il pianto, testimonio del nostro patire. Pianto da me per certo Tu non avrai: ben mille volte dal mio labbro il tuo nome maledetto sarà ec.

Mai io non mi rassegnò ec.

Se mai grazia fu chiesta ad Arimane ec. concedimi ch' io non passi il 7° lustro. Io sono stato, vivendo, il tuo maggior predicatore ec. l'apostolo della tua religione. Ricompensami. Non ti chiedo nessuno di quelli che il mondo chiama beni: ti chiedo quello che è creduto il massimo de' mali, la morte. (non ti chiedo ricchezze ec. non amore sola causa degna di vivere ec.). Non posso, non posso più della vita.¹⁴

The *Zibaldone* (or the *Pensieri di Varia Filosofia e di Bella Letteratura*, as it is called in its published form) is our chief source of information regarding Leopardi's views on language, art, and philosophy. It contains very few entries later than July, 1829, and none at all after December, 1832. For this reason it is particularly important to study carefully the documents at our disposal that can throw any light upon their author's conceptions during the latter years of his life.¹⁵ Of such documents one of the most interesting is the unfinished "Hymn to Ahriman."

The main facts of Leopardi's philosophical development are clear, especially after examination of the *Zibaldone*. In his early youth he constructed a system of thought in which he deified nature and eulogized the great illusions that characterize primitive man.¹⁶ This conception he modified gradually as he became more mature. His notes belonging to the years 1826, 1827 and 1828 demonstrate that he had learned to understand the remorselessness of nature, and that he had begun to feel horrified at her cruelty. Up to this point he had never shown any tendency to sympathize with civilization, which he had always regarded with hatred. The chronology of his later intellectual development is somewhat uncer-

¹⁴ For this hymn, see *Scritti Vari Inediti dalle Carte Napoletane*, pp. 114-115; it contains also a facsimile of the poet's manuscript. The date (1835) found in print, but not in the facsimile, is almost certainly a mistake. The mention of the author's seventh lustrum clearly indicates that he was not thirty-five; cf. Chiarini's argument for dating the poem March or April, 1833; Chiarini, *Vita di Giacomo Leopardi*, Firenze, G. Barbèra, p. 399.

¹⁵ The most valuable sources are the *Canti* and the *Epistolario*, although the latter becomes more scanty every year.

¹⁶ Bodily vigor, patriotism, religion, sacrifice of life for ideals, love, etc.

tain on account of lack of data, but the poem *La Ginestra* illustrates the final phase of his thought—a willingness to recognize some value in human achievement and coöperation, and an even stronger realization of the ruthlessness of nature.

It is essential to separate Leopardi's personal feelings from his philosophical tenets. Although no one could deny more thoroughly than he the possibility of happiness for man, he was willing upon occasion to admit that no general theory, whether pessimistic or optimistic, could be formed as to the works of nature as a whole.¹⁷ We must be careful, then, to consider the pessimism expressed in his poems as applied to the fate of the human race in general, and to his own destiny in particular.¹⁸

The "Hymn to Ahriman" strikes an intensely personal note. It would be difficult to imagine anything more terrible than this invocation of the spirit of evil that governs the destinies of mankind and of the universe. We find in the poet's sketch a presentation, in brief compass, of the various evils that authorize him to believe in the divinity of Ahriman. He parades before us a series of woes that sums up the tortured life of ages. First he points to the condition of nature's offspring, brought into the world to reproduce, to grow old, and to die. Next he turns to the recognition of evil among primitive tribes and among civilized peoples. Enumeration of the harmful phenomena of nature paves the way for a scathing comment on the natural injustice of mankind. Here the poet pauses to reiterate his belief in the eternal triumph of Ahriman. Then he touches the supreme chord in his song of despair—the recognition by man of evil elements in his own divinities. At this point a temporary relief is offered by the consideration of love as the only thing in life that offers any possibility of pleasure.¹⁹ Even this comfort, however, is only partial and is perhaps bestowed by Ahriman to make our position even more grievous.

¹⁷ Cf. *Zibaldone*, Vol. v, pp. 87-89, (July 10, 1823). He means the system of the universe, in which man is only an unimportant detail.

¹⁸ It must be admitted that Leopardi does not always maintain this distinction; in his artistic works he frequently seems to lose sight of everything except a system of pessimism.

¹⁹ It was a firm belief of Leopardi that love was the last of the great illusions, and the only one left to modern times; cf. the poems *Amore e Morte* and *Il Pensiero Dominante*.

The last portion of the hymn contains the personal appeal of Leopardi. It includes the hopeless lament of his torn and suffering spirit, his plea for death as the only possible relief. The point in it that gives rise to the greatest amount of speculation is the question of resignation. He says: "Mai io non mi rassegnarò." This statement seems to call for explanation.

In the course of an attempt to establish a system of pessimism, Leopardi described as follows the three phases of youth: "(1) Speranza, forse il più affannoso di tutti; (2) disperazione furibonda e renitente; (3) disperazione rassegnata."²⁰ At the time of writing he considered that he had himself reached the third stage. Yet seven years later his soul is still in conflict, and it is hard to define the character of his resignation. The "Hymn to Ahri-man" belongs to the period of the waning of Leopardi's affection for Fanny Targioni-Tozzetti. It is to be compared with *Amore e Morte*, *A Se Stesso*, *Consalvo*, and *Aspasia*. A certain similarity in the poet's attitude toward fate is evident in all of these poems. The unfinished one seems to contain less direct allusion to his feelings of love than do the others, but it is only logical to suppose that the emotional stimulus was the same. It is probable that Leopardi aimed at a stoical submission to destiny. Without feeling the slightest inclination toward reconciliation with the system of the universe as it affects the human race, he desired to bid farewell to illusion, to cherish no more hope. This idea of an austere despair is best illustrated in *A Se Stesso*, and perhaps in the later poems of the Neapolitan period. At times, however, he is impelled to raise his head proudly and to struggle against fate.²¹ These outbursts belong to a passionate nature unable

²⁰ Zibaldone, Vol. VII, p. 110 (June 3d, 1826).

²¹ Cf. *Amore e Morte*, lines 108-116.

Me certo troverai, qual si sia l'ora
 Che tu le penne al mio pregar dispieghi,
 Erta la fronte, armato,
 E renitente al fato,
 La man che flagellando si colora
 Nel mio sangue innocente
 Non ricolmar di lode,
 Non benedir, com' usa
 Per antica viltà l'umana gente.

always to remain unmoved, and determined to resist. Doubtless Leopardi was beset by conflicting thoughts, now feeling resignation, now the dreadful grief that he attributed to antiquity and to ancient heroes.

It is surprising that Leopardi never finished the "Hymn to Ahriman." The supposition that he thought the personal element in it too strong is hardly tenable when we consider the intensely subjective nature of some of his work. It is barely possible that he felt a certain clash between the general statements at the beginning and the individualistic tendency of the conclusion. It seems more reasonable, however, to attribute his failure to complete the work to chance, to ill health, or to the lack of inspiration at the proper moment. We know from his own statement that he was accustomed to outline a poem suggested by inspiration, and then to wait for another similar moment to amplify his ideas and complete his work.²²

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REVIEWS

Don Francisco de Quevedo, por EULOGIO FLORENTINO SANZ.
 Edited by R. SELDEN ROSE, Ph. D. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1917.
 xxxiv + 249 pp.

El Dr. Rose—bien reputado en los estudios de literatura española por una edición de Suárez de Figueroa (*El Pasajero*, Madrid, 1914, Soc. Biblióf. esp.) calificada recientemente de primorosa por Bonilla—ha preparado la edición de este drama romántico para que sirva de texto en las clases de español. Va precedida de un Ensayo biográfico de Sanz, al que siguen una Introducción histórica, que

Cf. also *Aspasia*, lines 89-93.

Or ti vanti, che il puoi. Narra che sola
 Sei del tuo sesso a cui piegar sostenni
 L'altero capo, a cui spontaneo porsì
 L'indomito mio cor.

²² *Epistolario di Giacomo Leopardi*, Vol. I, p. 339 (written in 1820).

presenta el medio en que la acción se desenvuelve, familiarizándonos con los personajes que en ella intervienen, y unas notas sobre la versificación. Además en un corto prefacio el Dr. R. indica las circunstancias que hacen a esta obra muy estimable para el servicio didáctico. Creo, sin embargo, que el estar en verso le resta algunas ventajas y el uso constante de *Vos* en el tratamiento es un declarado inconveniente.

Algunas observaciones que su lectura me ha sugerido:

Pág. xxi. La venta de las joyas de la Reina no es cosa admitida (*Caduta*,¹ p. 141, n. 2).

P. xxiii. No fué Quevedo a Nápoles en 1616, sino, según parece, en 1611 (*Tarsia*,² p. 60; *Mérimée*,³ p. 27; y F.-Guerra,⁴ p. 76), aunque por poco tiempo; pero sí pasa con Osuna todo el año 1614 y la mitad del 1615 y en Agosto se le nombra Embajador para llevar y presentar al Rey los pliegos del Parlamento (*Tarsia*, p. 62; *Mérimée*, p. 83; F.-Guerra, p. 82).

P. xxix. No era extraño a las costumbres de la época que una viuda se retirase a un convento. Ejemplo el de la Emperatriz María de Austria, hija de Carlos V, que al quedar viuda se fué a las Descalzas Reales, donde estuvo hasta su muerte, aunque sin guardar la clausura porque va a saludar a Palacio a la Reina Margarita cuando llegó a Madrid (*Novoa*,⁵ LX, pp. 16 y 129). Como dice el *Libro de las honras que hizo el colegio de la Cõpañia de IESVS* (Madrid, 1603, p. 33), tuvo "si no el habito, alo menos el animo y modo de vida tan religiosa."⁶

¹ *Caduta del Conte d'Olivares*, par le P. Ippolito Camillo Guidi, Ministre de Modène en Espagne. Publicada y precedida de un estudio por A. Morel-Fatio, *Bulletin italien*, t. XII, pp. 27, 136, 224.

² *Vida de Don Francisco de Quevedo*. T. X de las *Obras* de Quevedo. Madrid, Sancha, 1794.

³ *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de F. de Quevedo*. Paris, 1886.

⁴ *Obras completas de D. Francisco de Quevedo*, ed. crítica ordenada e ilustrada por Aureliano Fernandez-Guerra, T. I. Sevilla, 1897.

⁵ *Memorias de Matias de Novoa*, atribuidas a Bernabé de Vibanco. LX y LXI comprenden la Historia de Felipe III publicada en los vols. que corresponden a esos números en la *Colección de documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*: LXIX, LXXVII, LXXX, y LXXXVI comprenden la Historia de Felipe IV en los volúmenes que llevan esos números en la misma Colección.

⁶ Esta nota debo a la amabilidad del Dr. R. E. House, de la Hispanic Society.

P. xxix. Creo que el Dr. R. recarga de sombríos colores el cuadro de las ediciones de Quevedo antes de 1852. En el Catálogo de F.-Guerra (p. 407) hasta el año 1852 se incluyen 229 artículos. Admitido que no pueden presentarse como modelos por la corrección del texto, pero desde el punto de vista tipográfico algunas son espléndidas.

P. xxx. Villamediana, aunque otra cosa dice, p. ej., Fitzmaurice-Kelly, parece que fué muerto, no al bajar del coche, sino en el coche mismo (Cotarelo, *El Conde de Villamediana*. Madrid, 1886, pp. 135 s.).

P. xxxi. Sobre la atribución de la *Caida del Conde-Duque*, V. Morel-Fatio (*Caduta*, pp. 27 s.).

Como fuentes probables de algunos episodios sería, acaso, posible indicar: Para la muerte de Medina en el primer acto, el lance caballeresco de Quevedo en la Iglesia de San Martín de Madrid el Jueves Santo de 1611 mientras se celebraban las tinieblas, que cuenta Tarsia (*loc. cit.*, pp. 60 s.). La audiencia con el Rey a que Quevedo es llamado en la última escena del acto tercero, pudo haber sido sugerida a Sanz por cierta larga audiencia secreta que Felipe III le concedió para tratar de los asuntos de Italia (*Del Memorial de Chumacero*, en F.-Guerra, p. 204; Mérimée, p. 50).

D. Juan de Castilla fué un personaje histórico, aunque de carácter distinto al que tiene en el drama, Procurador de la ciudad de Burgos en las Cortes, y en las que solicitó una alta merced para el Conde-Duque, "hombre atronado de ningún seso ni juicio, adulador y ambicioso como los favorecidos de este tiempo" (Novoa, LXXVII, pp. 419 s.; LXXX, pp. 2 s.).

Igualmente personaje histórico el Marqués de la Grana, sujeto de cultura, valor e independencia de carácter, "ambasciator cesareo in questa corte" (*Caduta*, pp. 46, 153 ss.).

Acaso se haya servido Sanz para la preparación del drama de una obra que el Dr. R. no cita, y yo desconozco, de Adolfo de Castro, *El Conde-Duque de Olivares y el Rey Felipe IV*. Cádiz, 1846.

No creo que se pueda presentar a Quevedo siempre con una conducta austeramente irreprochable en sus relaciones con el valido. Ejemplo de la fragilidad inherente a la humana condición es su obra el *Chitón de las tarabillas*, y, dicho sea de paso, Novoa dice de Quevedo mucho mas de lo que le atribuye Mérimée en la pág. 95;

así se lee: "y el Quevedo creyendo que arribaba á mayor fortuna y que sacaría de aquí otro pellizco de dinero, como le sacó al duque de Osuna, armó un librito insolente en que satisfacía al Conde o respondía a las calumnias que le cargaban; indigno de juicio heróico, ni aun plebeyo" (Novoa, LXIX, p. 73).

Para las observaciones del vocabulario que a continuación van, me he servido, en gran parte, del *Diccionario de Autoridades*. A él puede acudir para más amplia información.

Verso 109: *compaña*. Es voz anticuada.

V. 210: *como un Alcalde randara*. "Alcalde" aquí no debe tomarse en el sentido de "Mayor" en la organización administrativa actual. V. Alcalde de noche (*Dic. de Aut. T. I.*, p. 177), Pesquisidores, Alcaldes del rastro (Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, p. 91).

V. 281: *que siente crecer la hierba*. No se explica este modismo que es una frase familiar y metafórica con la que expresamos que "es una persona lista, discreta, perspicaz."

V. 498: *Alas diste a mi ambición*. Modo de hablar metafórico que vale tanto como "dar aliento, osadía, ánimo o favor a otro para que se atreva a ejecutar algo que sin este amparo y patrocinio por sí solo no realizaría."

V. 523: *Posada*. Tiene el significado de "casa propia de cada uno donde habita o mora." Aunque hoy no se usa en ese sentido, era muy corriente en el siglo XVII y creo que es él que ha querido darle Sanz.

V. 565: *Vengo de paz*. Frase que vale "venir sin ánimo de reñir, cuando se temía lo contrario." Lat. *Pacificum venire, adventare, ingredi*. La contestación al centinela que dice el Dr. R. es corrientemente *gente de paz*.

V. 794. Extraño, porque aunque se puede ver (Novoa, LXIX, p. 10), es rarísimo, "Lemus" por "Lemos." En la nota del Dr. R. en la p. 199 hay que hacer notar que cuando cayeron en desgracia Lemos y Borja no tenía aún influencia Olivares, pues se trata de episodios del reinado anterior que preceden y señalan la caída de Lerma y la subida de Uceda (Novoa, LXI, p. 148); y aunque Olivares formaba en aquellas emulaciones y luchas entre los primos y cuñados, Uceda y Lemos, al lado del primero, representaba entonces un papel muy inferior, como él mismo reconocía (Novoa, LXI, pp. 88, 89, 128). El Conde de Lemos no creo que tuviese

aposentos en Palacio por los cargos que desempeñaba. Sí los tuvo su madre Doña Catalina de Zúñiga y Sandoval, hermana de Lerma, "que estaba en palacio con aquel decoro y respeto que siempre había tenido por que á sus grandes partes y virtudes, ni la variedad de los tiempos, ni los desaires de la fortuna se le atrevieron" (Novoa, LXI, p. 398).

V. 864: *cuentos de la villa*. "Cuento," en sentido familiar, "chisme o enredo que se cuenta a una persona para ponerla a mal con otra, comentarios" = "town gossip."

V. 1252: *Chanza pesada*. "Pesado," más que "heavy, stupid, serious," significa, en este caso, "molesto, enfadoso, impertinente."

V. 1265, 1275, 2776. *Bravo*. Más que "brave, excellent, fine," equivale a "raro, peregrino, singular." Lat. *Insolitus*.

V. 1280: *Loco*; metafóricamente, "que excede en mucho a lo ordinario o presumible."

V. 1286: *Tragar saliva*. Traduciéndolo "swallow saliva" no significa nada, pero es una frase con la que se expresa el no poder desahogarse ni oponerse a alguna determinación, palabra o acción que ofende, por la autoridad de la persona que la hace o dice o por otras razones de conveniencia o política.

V. 1304: *Torbellino*. Persona demasiado viva e inquieta y que hace o dice las cosas sin orden ni concierto. Acaso más que "whirlwind" daría el sentido "helter-skelter manner."

V. 1363: *Cortar las alas*. Quitarle el ánimo o aliento a una persona cuando intenta ejecutar o pretende alguna cosa. Privarle de los medios con que cuenta para prosperar y engrandecerse.

V. 2148: *Va que se le lleva el aire*. El Dr. R. dice: "He goes as if he were walking on air." "Llevarle a uno el aire" se entiende por "seguirle; complacerle en todo."

V. 2163: *Por dicha*. No "by happiness." Es una frase adverbial que vale lo mismo que "por ventura, por suerte, por casualidad, caso." Lat.: *Casu, fortuito* (V. Garcés, *Fundamento del vigor y elegancia de la lengua castellana*, Madrid, 1885, I, pp. 52, 260). En inglés "by chance."

V. 2330: *Por menos*. No "at least," sino "for less."

V. 2660: *Os le quiero seguir*. "I would follow your example there." Seguir, no el ejemplo, sino el humor. Aceptar la broma.

V. 2696: *Ya no sois uno los dos*. "Uno" vale tanto como "estrecho amigo." Lat. *Alter ego*.

V. 2912: *Al paso*. No es "immediately" sino "a la vez que se hace otra cosa, sin detenerse"; vale también "al encuentro." Lat. *In transitu, in via, obiter*.

Pag. 204. La ceremonia de cubrirse los grandes tiene lugar aún hoy. La análoga para las damas grandes de España es "tomar la almohada," sentarse delante de la Reina.

Creo que merecía una explicación la libertad poética de poner el artículo indeterminado masculino en los v. 2368 y 2810. El uso del pronombre complementario *le* por *lo* en los v. 1760 y 61 podrá extrañar. Acaso sería conveniente llamar la atención sobre la elipsis del v. 1298 y el *que* redundante del billete del Rey en la pág. 179, uso pleonástico muy común en el período clásico y a su imitación puesto aquí (V. Valdés, *Diálogo de la lengua*, Madrid, 1860, p. 161). El v. 3050 tiene una errata: el adjetivo debía ser femenino.

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Young Germany in its Relations to Britain, by JOHN WHYTE.
Ottendorfer Memorial Series of Germanic Monographs No. 8.
Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company,
1917. 87 pp.

Über Jungdeutschland und England kann man eigentlich nicht schreiben, ohne politische Grundfragen zu berühren; und da das in vollem Umfang in diesen Zeiten hier unmöglich ist, so bleibt dem Besprecher vielleicht noch mehr als dem Verfasser der vorliegenden Schrift das Feld eingezäunt. Ausserdem möchte der Rez. von vornherein sagen, dass seine kritischen Einwände und Wünsche eher durch Whytes Schrift angeregt als verursacht worden sind, wengleich auch manches dieser wie jeder Erstlingsarbeit anhaftet, z. B. eine gewisse Unschärfe der Linien. Im eigensten Interesse der Arbeit wäre es schliesslich gewesen, wenn ihre guten Ergebnisse in den rechten geschichtlichen Zusammenhang gebracht worden wären, was das Schlusskapitel gut hätte tun können. Die historische Perspektive, so skizzenhaft sie auch sein mag, macht erst die Stoffsammlung zur Forschung.

Unser Gegenstand nun ist höchst interessant und fruchtbar, und Whyte hat uns mit seinen Zusammenstellungen sicher ein gut Stück vorwärts gebracht im Studium gewisser deutsch-englischen Beziehungen im 19. Jahrhundert. Er beschränkt sich im ganzen freilich auf die Jahre 1830-40, die er willkürlich "particularly significant years" nennt. Geht man nur einen kleinen Schritt weiter bis zu 1848, so wird einem klarer, warum das literarische und journalistische Deutschland damals gegen Frankreich und für England gestimmt und gerichtet war. Denn in grossen Zügen geht der Deutschen Zuneigung für England mit der Abneigung gegen Frankreich zusammen. In den volkstümlichsten Literaturbewegungen des modernen Deutschlands, dem Sturm und Drang, gewissen Entwicklungen der Romantik und dem poetischen Realismus von 1850-60, ist der kulturelle Grundton germanisch, unromanisch, ja antifranzösisch. In dem grossen Strom hin zum poetischen Realismus schwammen auch die Jungdeutschen, ob sie wollten oder nicht. Sie wurden von Frankreich ab- und zu England hingetrieben, jeder natürlich auf seine Weise und nach seinem Einzelschicksal. Im ganzen haben sie sich bewusst ausserhalb der deutschen Entwicklung zu stellen versucht, vor allen Heine, Börne und Mundt, haben zur deutschen Geschichte und zu Goethe eine schiefe Stellung eingenommen, und sind deshalb leicht in die Wolfgruben der Auslandverherrlichung geraten. Von Börne und Heine lässt sich kein Deutschtum im Sinne Arnims oder Kleists erwarten; Mundt verhimmelt damals Börne, was ihn selber kennzeichnet; Wienbarg will bewusst national sein, kann es aber nicht in lebendiger Weise, weil er zusehr Dogmatiker ist; Gutzkow und Laube haben sich, wenigstens später, gesünder weiter entwickelt. Alle waren mehr oder weniger "theoretisch" veranlagt, also schlechte Politiker, daher auch oberflächliche Beurteiler des politischen Englands. Gutzkow und Mundt waren als Märker politisch nüchterner als die andern. Heine besass ausnahmsweise scharfen politischen Blick als eine ganz besondere Begabung, weshalb er allein von allen Jungdeutschen eine wirklich kritische Stellung zu England einnahm. Mundt hat die meisten intimen Einblicke in englisches Leben gehabt, ist aber von zu naivem und unselbständigem politischen Denken gewesen, um zu einem reifen Urteil über England zu gelangen.

Um das innere Verhältnis der Jungdeutschen zu England zu

verstehen, bedarf es der klaren Darstellung alles diesen und dazu noch der gründlichen Erörterung der verschiedenen Erkenntnisquellen. *Unmittelbare* Kenntnisse verschaffen nur Reisen. Je kürzer der Aufenthalt im fremden Land, desto wichtiger ist der Seelenzustand des Reisenden. Einige Urteile Heines über England sind wie einige andere, zum Beispiel von Grillparzer, der Ausfluss schlechter Laune. Auch muss gefragt werden: was weiss einer, ehe er seine Auslandsreise antritt?—*Mittelbares* Wissen bringen dann Reisebücher. Pückler-Muskau's englische Reisebriefe haben zum Beispiel stark auf Heine gewirkt, wie denn überhaupt Pückler's *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (1830) einen grossen Einfluss auf die Jungdeutschen ausgeübt haben. Raumer's Buch über England von 1835 ist auch nicht umsonst geschrieben worden und hat manchen Jungdeutschen zur willigen oder unwilligen Stellungnahme veranlasst. Zur bereits erwähnten Volksströmung muss auch die literarische Mode gerechnet werden, die selbstverständlich auch wieder seelische und geschichtliche Gründe hat. Die Jungdeutschen von 1835 suchten ihr England, das ist das England von Shakespeare, Byron und Scott. Julian Schmidt will, kaum zehn Jahre später, ein England von Scott und Dickens; und Fontane wieder ein anderes. Sie suchten und fanden alle verschiedenes. Aus dem hernach das eine England herauszufinden, das "hart im Raume" liegt, ist eine ebenso reizvolle wie schwierige Aufgabe. Um einen Vergleich heranzuziehen: man muss schon ein tüchtiger Goethekenner sein, ehe man den Weg von Carlyles Goethe zu dem von De Quincey, Matthew Arnold, Emerson oder Bayard Taylor mit Verständnis gehen kann.

Das kulturpolitische Verhältnis Jungdeutschlands zu England hätte sich in Whyte's Arbeit noch klarer herausgeschält, wenn das Politische vom Literarischen zunächst einmal völlig getrennt worden wäre. Natürlich darf grade bei den Jungdeutschen die Literatur nie ohne politischen Hintergrund betrachtet werden. Aber vor der abschliessenden Synthese braucht es hier der besonders eingehenden Analyse, umsomehr als es sich um grundverschiedene Persönlichkeiten handelt. Rein literarisch genommen, sind bei Whyte Shakespeare und Scott, aber auch Byron etwas schlecht weggekommen. Die Stellung *Shakespeares* in der ästhetischen Theorie eines Mundt sowie in Gutzkows Schaffen verspricht noch eine lohnende Untersuchung. Bezüglich *Scotts* neigt Whyte wie auch Price (in *The Attitude of Gustav Freytag and Julian Schmidt*

toward *English Literature*, Hesperia, No. 7) zur Überschätzung des tatsächlichen nachweisbaren Einflusses in Deutschland. Karl Wengers Arbeit über *Historische Romane deutscher Romantiker* (Bern 1905) hätte zur Vorsicht mahnen können. Laube (bei Whyte, S. 51) übertreibt Scotts Einfluss auf die deutsche Literatur mindestens ebenso sehr wie Julian Schmidt den von Dickens.—Tage der "Kriegsliteratur" sollten auch den Aufspürer von internationalen Einflüssen ernüchtern, und schon viele sogen. Einflüsse haben sich hinterher als enttäuschend oberflächliche Berührungen herausgestellt. Selbst die deutsche Nationalliteratur, ich meine damit die volksechte und volkstümliche, ist bedeutend spröder als die meisten Germanisten im Ausland annehmen. Die deutsche Forschung wird das hinfort wieder neu betonen, wie das zum Beispiel Ernst Elster in seiner Rektoratsrede (Marburg 1915) über *Deutschtum und Dichtung* (besonders S. 10-11) tut. Vielleicht darf ich in diesem Zusammenhang auch auf meine Shaftesbury Rezension hinweisen (*Mod. Lang. Notes* vom Dezember 1915).

Ein Wort noch über *Lord Byron in Deutschland*. Merkwürdig ist es, dass er schon in den 1840ern bei den Jungdeutschen fast vergessen ist. Adolf Böttgers Übersetzungen, Leipzig 1839, bedeuten den Höhepunkt der deutschen Byronschwärmerei. Der Jungdeutschen Nachfolger Gottschall bekennt sich erst 1847 wieder zu ihm. Sein Gegner Julian Schmidt hat noch eine Jugendschwäche in der Richtung; Price belegt das sehr interessant. Nach Gottschall müssen wir mehrere Jahrzehnte warten, ehe wir mit Karl Beibtreu zu einer neuen Byronmode gelangen. In den Vierzigern scheinen die Gestalten von Don Juan und Tannhäuser die Byronfigur aus der deutschen Literatur gedrängt zu haben.—Das zeigt zugleich, was Byron eigentlich den Jungdeutschen bedeutete. Schon Julian Schmidt (bei Price, S. 29) hat es angedeutet. Byron war ihr Held, weil er aristokratisch-revolutionär, freiheitsbegeistert und ichsüchtig, glücklich-unglücklich, faustisch und splienig zugleich war, oder ihnen wenigstens so aussah. Und nicht zuletzt lebte er sich unbekümmert vor den Philistern aus, was die meisten Jungdeutschen samt Publikum nur zu träumen wagten. So kommt es, dass er tatenschwachen Dichtern und Schönschreibern neben Napoleon als "Poet der Tat" erscheint. Die geniale Freiheitspose über alles! Byron wurde hundertmal mehr als Künstler denn als Engländer angesehen. Nur oberflächlichere jungdeutsche Lieb-

haber der englischen Literatur nannten ihn "echtenglisch." Heine allein sagte, er sei unenglisch, womit er im ganzen recht haben mag. Vergleiche dazu Arnold Schröers *Grundzüge und Haupttypen der englischen Literaturgeschichte* (2 Bändchen, Göschen, Leipzig 1906), besonders Teil II. S. 110-116. Es ist ein sehr interessanter Versuch, der grade für den Germanisten aufschlussreich ist.

Zum Schluss noch ein paar kleine Ausstellungen oder Erweiterungen. War Whytes Zitat, S. 43 und 77, über "historic Britain" nötig?—S. 29 unten meint der Verfasser, dass Heines Ausgangspunkt für seine Verherrlichung Napoleons in seinem Verhältnis zu England liege. Es ist aber umgekehrt, was leicht nachzuweisen ist.—Mundts Stellungnahme zur englischen Literatur wäre noch klarzustellen, auch seine Gattin ist dabei mit einem Roman über Aphra Behn (1849) zu nennen.—Sollte Whyte später die Haltung der jungdeutschen Zeitschriften auf sein Thema hin untersuchen, so möchte ich mir hier den Hinweis auf Ruges *Hallische Jahrbücher* und das *Deutsche Museum* (1840 ff.) von Robert Prutz erlauben. Besonders in diesem ist interessantes Material. In meiner Studie über Fontane und England habe ich bereits auf Edward Smith, *Foreign Visitors in England, their Books in three Centuries*, London 1888, hingedeutet. Auch Karl Hillebrands Schriften—an sich schon ein Genuss zu lesen!—dürften ebenso anregen wie ergänzen. Was Whyte uns bis jetzt gegeben hat, ist eine sorgfältige und brauchbare Zusammenfassung, die zur Weiterarbeit auffordert.

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The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe, edited by KILLIS CAMPBELL.
Boston and New York: Ginn & Co., 1917. Pp. Ixiv, 332.

It is nothing less than an indictment of American scholarship that we should have had to wait so long for an edition of Poe adequately introduced and adequately annotated. There has been no lack of articles about Poe, or of highly specialized treatments of minute phases of his work and career. But if you ask, What did Poe mean by this poem or that? What is the central thought of the poem? or, in Poe's own phrase, What is the "totality of effect?"

intended? you will find no single volume or edition that even approximately meets your need.

The first distinctive excellence, then, of Dr. Campbell's book, is that it is fearlessly and consistently interpretative. One does not have to agree with all of his findings to recognize the wide reading and the resolute individual exegesis that have gone into this part of his work. Criticisms, of course, may be made. The notes on *Ulalume*, for example, make no reference to the tenth stanza of Rossetti's *Portrait*, or to Wordsworth's *Desideria*, or to the interpretations proffered in Waitman Barbe's *Famous Poems Explained* (1909). The relation, too, of Poe's so-called sonnet on *Silence* and Hood's real sonnet on the same theme, though commented upon by Dr. Campbell, seems to me never to have been clearly understood. Hood begins:

There is a silence where hath been no sound,
There is a silence where no sound may be.

The two kinds of silence are typified, respectively, by (1) the silence far "under the deep, deep sea," and (2) the silence "in the cold grave." The first of these makes little impression on Hood: it is not the true silence. Note his sestet:

But in green ruins, in the desolate walls
Of antique palaces, where Man hath been,
Though the dun fox, or wild hyena, calls,
And owls, that flit continually between,
Shriek to the echo, and the low winds moan,
There the true Silence is, self-conscious and alone.

Poe takes the opposite view. He adopts Hood's twofold division of silence, but finds a superior and supreme impressiveness not in the second, but in the first kind. The second, the silence of the dead, is a finite, human, *embodied* thing, rendered terrorless by memory and the lore of tears: it is not what Baudelaire (*Rêve Parisien*, p. 236) would call "le silence de l'éternité." Compare Hood's sestet now with Poe's:

He is the corporate Silence: dread him not!
No power hath he of evil in himself;
But should some urgent fate (untimely lot!)
Bring thee to meet his shadow (nameless elf,
That haunteth the lone regions where hath trod
No foot of man), commend thyself to God!

In other words, the relation of Poe's lines to Hood's is much like the relation of Poe's *Romance* to Byron's *To Romance*. The theme is the same, but the American poet takes in each case a view diametrically opposed to that found in the English prototype. There is, of course, no suggestion of plagiarism.

Dr. Campbell's Introduction, with its sixty-four pages and six subdivisions, is an admirable summary. Full recognition is given to Whitty and other gleaners in the same field; the latest finds, if they are real finds, are incorporated; and the whole is elaborately and accurately documented. But certain of the references need to be supplemented or at least brought up to date. Lauvrière's great work published in 1904, is mentioned only once and in a foot-note (p. xxii). It should certainly have been listed among "the chief biographies of Poe" (p. xi) and might have been fruitfully drawn upon in the notes appended in explanation of the individual poems. There is also no mention of Lauvrière's more recent *Edgar Poe* (1911), certainly one of the best of "Les Grands Écrivains Étrangers" series.

If histories of American literature are to be cited (as on pp. lvi and lvii), room should have been made for Leon Kellner's *Geschichte der nordamerikanischen Literatur* (1913). By the same token Arthur Moeller-Bruck's article, *Poe's Schaffen*, prefixed to the ten-volume German edition of Poe (1904) might have been mentioned, if only as a palmary example of how not to do it. Gosse is cited only in his *Questions at Issue*, no note being made of his more recent Poe verdicts in *The Contemporary Review* (February, 1909), and *The Edinburgh Review* (January, 1910).

So, too, Betz is quoted (p. liii) in his *Edgar Poe in der französischen Litteratur* (1902), but, while lesser works are cited, no mention is made of Betz's later and better "Edgar Poe in Deutschland" (*Die Zeit*, Wien, April, 1905), or of Hippe's more detailed and up-to-date treatment in *Edgar Poe's Lyrik in Deutschland* (Inaugural Dissertation, 1913). To C. H. Page's *Poe in France* (p. liii) should be added George D. Morris's "American Traits as Seen by the French" (*The Mid-West Quarterly*, January, 1915), which is concerned chiefly with Poe, and the same author's "French Criticism of Poe" (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, October, 1915).

John Nichol is quoted (p. 296) as saying in his *American Literature* (1882) that Annabel Lee is "the finest" of Poe's lyrics, and

that it displays the poet's passion "at the whitest heat." But this is by no means so interesting an appraisal of *Annabel Lee* as that given by Nichol in another part of his *American Literature*. If he was to be quoted at all, it would have been better, I think, to adduce the passage from page 236 of his *American Literature*: "This [the section from the *Biglow Papers*, second series, No. x, beginning "Under the yaller-pines I house" to the close], not the *Commemoration Ode*, is the author's masterpiece. I set it beside *Annabel Lee*, and regard these two poems, totally different though they are, as the two high-water marks of Transatlantic verse."

These are minor matters. Dr. Campbell has written a book which, whether viewed as summary or interpretation, will be indispensable to all Poe students and which, as a combination of the two, is without an equal.

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Holland's Influence on English Language and Literature. By T. DE VRIES. Chicago: C. Grentzebach, 1916.

The title of this book is promising indeed: an authoritative statement of Holland's influence on English language and literature would doubtless be widely welcomed. It is all the more painful then when the high hopes aroused by an inclusive title are cruelly disappointed.

Is there anything in this book but second-hand information? To be sure for survey purposes the use of second-hand material is quite legitimate, if it be used only for fresh and more general conclusions, if it be presented in readable form or even simply rearranged in a handy way. But for this book one can urge none of these excuses, except in a small measure the last, and even as a mere chronological survey it would be not only useless but positively dangerous to any but a seasoned student of Dutch and English literature.

The author's conclusions are bewildering, childish almost beyond belief and too often expressed in fantastic English. Nothing could be more cruel to the author than to quote from his book

in detail. Obviously, the author is a man of strong temperament; but his weird rhetoric, even where it rises at times to a sort of eloquence, fails to conceal the futility of his attempt.

The chapters on "Holland's influence on the development of Comparative Philology" bear an uncanny resemblance to the efforts of the polyhistorians of the seventeenth century. Chapter VII is entitled: "Why the influence of England on Dutch language and literature is only of recent date, while that of Holland on English language and literature began much earlier and continued during several centuries." What can be said of a writer who speaks in one breath of "men like Skeat and De Hoog," the latter being the author of some modest studies on Dutch-English relationship? One gasps at the chapter on "How it happened that Holland exerted influence on the English language," which consists of ten pages from Skeat's *Principles of English Etymology* and eight pages from an article by Prof. W. H. Carpenter in *Modern Philology*, and at the next (why the next?) chapter on "The influence which Holland has exerted on the English language," which is made up of *forty-five* pages of words from De Hoog, all these extracts being reprinted *verbatim*. "Everybody," says the author, "who is not blinded by ignorance and prejudice against the Netherlands, will do as the good architect does. He takes all the facts together and in connection with each other, and then he is able to see what he was looking for. He sees something which touches the world's history, taking as a rule, its course from East to West, and so from the Netherlands to England, especially in those centuries, in which from 1400 till 1700, we can say that the headquarters of the World's History are in the Low Countries" (p. 174).

The author also amazes us when he speaks of "Queen Bloody Mary" (p. 182), misquotes his authorities (*Vermeulen* instead of *Vermeulen* throughout the book), describes Defoe's 'language' as having "a naive power, combined with a charming reality . . . which make him dreadful for his enemies, and a not-to-be-neglected help for his friends" (p. 328).

The book is neatly made; it is illustrated rather attractively with photographs (partly taken, without acknowledgment, from Jan Ten Brink's *History of Dutch literature*), and on the promise of its title it will be bought by most of the larger libraries. For a

number of years the author has 'interpreted' Holland to the students of several large Middle Western universities; he has also published eight lectures on "Dutch history, art and literature for Americans," lectures which, as he proudly says "are to be found in the libraries of almost all the great universities in America." Certainly, Americans are interested in Holland and her literature. But Holland deserves to have her literature interpreted with an adequate measure of real knowledge, judgment, and command of the English language.

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CORRESPONDENCE

NOTES ON SPENSER AND CHAUCER

In the seventeenth century Dekker wrote a pageant with a scene that in some ways calls to mind vividly Spenser's pageant of the rivers in the *Faerie Queene* (iv, canto xi). The latter displays the wedding of Thamesis and Medway in the presence of a large concourse of rivers: Ocean and his wife, Old Tethys, together with the Nile, the Ganges, the Euphrates, and many others. In Dekker's *London's Tempe* (Fairholt, *Lord Mayor's Pageants*, Percy Soc., p. 43, second part; *Dekker*, London, 1873, iv, pp. 118 ff.) *Oceanus* appears in his "marine chariot" and "on his head, which (as his beard) is knotted, long, carelessly spread, and white, is placed a diadem." In Spenser it is Thames who thus appears:

his "head all hoary, and his beard all gray
Deawed with silver drops, that trickled downe alway,"

(st. xxv)

and:

"on his head like to a coronet
He wore, that seemed strange to common vew,
In which were many towres and castels set," etc.

(st. xxvii)

This crown of his is explained later:

"A diademe embattild wide
With hundred turrets, like a turribant.

With such an one was Thamys beautifide;
That was to weete the famous Troynovant,"

(st. xxviii)

(In Middleton's *Triumph of Truth*, London appeared and "on her head a model of steeples and turrets"; Bullen's *Middleton*, vii, p. 236 f. The figure must have been very common. See a recent example in a cartoon of London, "A Lady with a Past," *Punch*, March 27, 1912.) Oceanus, in Dekker's pageant, has come to see the "noble Thamesis," his son, and the glories of "new Troy" whose:

"high towers on tiptoe rize
To hit heaven's roofe."

With an elaborate speech Oceanus declaims his purpose and says he could call up "Ganges, Nilus, long-haired Euphrates." In the next "presentation," he reappears with Tethys, riding on a sea-lion. Such pageants of the rivers are common enough; *e. g.*, Fairholt, p. 30, first part (Thames, Severn, and Humber); p. 274, second part (Thames); Heywood (ed. London, 1874), v, 362 (Nilus and "his brother" Thames); and see for Neptune, Dekker, iii, pp. 241 ff. The similarities between Dekker's version and that in the *Faerie Queene* are only general. But it is interesting to see how closely Spenser's description approximates pageant customs and it suggests that his other pictures (in which the influence has often been noted) were derived from such pageants which he had actually seen. Indeed the tradition of these very pageants of the rivers may go back to one which afforded Spenser some of its details (although, of course, Upton's suggestion of the influence of Camden's youthful poem, *The Bridale of the Isis and Tame*, remains valid—J. Upton, *Spenser's F. Q.*, London 1758, p. 604; quoted by J. P. Collier, *Wks. of E. Sp.*, London, 1862, iii, p. 275. It should be noted that the influence of pageant upon literature, while especially likely, does not preclude the reverse influence.)

Cases of borrowing the house of Fame from Chaucer's poem have been noted in Jonson's *Masque of Queens* (Ballmann, *Anglia*, xxv, p. 26; Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele*, p. 215) and in Sir William Jones's restoration of the house to its rightful owner, Fortune (Koeppel, *Eng. Stud.*, xxviii, pp. 43 ff.). I cannot dis-

cover that anyone has mentioned the use of a similar or related figure in Dekker's *Troia-Nova Triumphans* in 1612 (Dekker's Works, III, pp. 250 ff.; Fairholt, pp. 23 ff., second part). In 1619 in Middleton's *Triumphs of Love and Antiquity* a "sanctuary of Fame" is used (Fairholt, p. 45 f., first part), but that seems to have been quite different. In Dekker's triumph, Vertue conducts the Lord Mayor safely past various dangers ("even, as it were, through the jaws of Envy") and then brings him to the "house of Fame." "In the upper seat sits Fame, crowned in rich attire, a trumpet in her hand, &c. In other severall places sit kings, princes, and noble persons; who have bene free of the Marchant-tailors, a particular roome being reserved for one that represents the person of Henry, the now Prince of Wales." Fame is the only speaker and her words are for us especially significant. She welcomes the throng to "Fame's high temple":

"Th' hast yet but gon

About a pyramid's foote; the top's not won,

That's glass; who slides there, fals; and once falne downe,

Never more rises: no art cures renowne,

The wound being sent to th' heart."

The rest of the speech, bidding the prince to look into Fame's book, and listing the royal line of princes and dukes, I need not quote. The triumph is concluded by a song welcoming Honour "eldest child of Fame." Here we obviously have many points of similarity to Chaucer's scene; for here we find the throng of people about the house, the trumpet, the court of Fame, etc. But we remember that Chaucer's house of Fame was built upon ice and is almost unique in that respect (see Sypherd's *Studies in the H. F.*, pp. 114 ff.), although mountains of glass are common enough in folklore and the mountain on which Fortune's house was constructed (to which the abode of Fame in Chaucer seems in many respects indebted), according to some accounts is slippery in just the fashion described here. If, then, there is a line of tradition from Chaucer's version to Dekker, it seems to be in a pleasant tangle!—unless we may suppose that Dekker did not know the source of the tradition. Possibly the property designed by Inigo Jones for Jonson's masque (to which this pageant has no other similarity) had endured and was resurrected three years later for Dekker's special

needs. What once had been intended to resemble ice now looked like glass and the property itself suggested some of the lines; so Chaucer's influence was passed on rather unintentionally!

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MIDDLE ENGLISH *brent brows*

Jamieson, in *A Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, says that in all quotations where the adjective *brent*, meaning 'high, straight, upright,' is used in connection with 'brow' or 'brows,' it "denotes a high forehead, as contradistinguished from one that is flat; . . . smooth, being contrasted with *runkled* or wrinkled." Professor Murray gives a like general meaning to the combination (Cf. *The New English Dictionary*, art. 'brent'), in spite of the fact that he elsewhere¹ remarks that "In ME. brow is only eyebrow; there is no such sense as modern forehead, *frons*, which appears not long before Shakespeare's time and first in Scotch." The adjective 'brent' is exceedingly rare in early literature, where it is always found in combination with the plural 'brows'; it is more common in later literature, where it is found generally in connection with the singular 'brow.' Undoubtedly, I think, 'brent brow' in English literature later than about 1550 does mean a high, smooth, unwrinkled forehead; but in earlier literature 'brent brows' means *high eyebrows*. True, in one passage found in *Sir Isumbras* (ed. Zupitza and Schleich), the expression "Wythe browys brante" (l. 248), so far as the context shows, may mean either high eyebrows or high forehead; but in the *Scottish Legends of the Saints* (ed. Metcalfe, Scot. Text. Soc. 1896, No. 34, l. 19) it is certainly the former that are 'brent.' St. Pelagia is described,

with 'teynder fassone & forred brade,
with browis brent, and (ene) brycht.

Again, in *Eger and Grine* (ed. Hales and Furnivall, *Percy Folio MS.*, Vol. I, l. 943) the poet describes a fair lady,

A fairer saw I never none,
With browes brent, and thereto small,

¹ In *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1888-90, Pt. I, p. 131.

where the latter part of the description could not possibly be applied to the forehead, because beautiful foreheads are generally broad and high and never 'small,' as we learn from Chaucer's description of the Prioress whose "forehead . . . was almost a spanne brood." It is more likely that the poet is trying to say that the lady's eyebrows are high-arched and delicate, not prominent. And, finally, in one passage at least the poet does not mean a high, smooth forehead; namely, in *The Destruction of Troy* (ed. Panton and Donaldson, EETS. 39, 56). Here the 'forhed' of Helen has just been described as being whiter than snow, having neither lines nor wrinkles (Cf. ll. 3027-3029). Then the author proceeds,

With browes full brent, bryghtist of hewe,
Semyt as þai set were sotely with honde,
Comyng in Compas, & in course Rounde,
Full metely made & mesured betwene,
Bright as the brent gold enbowet þai were.

This is a comparatively close translation of the corresponding passage in the *Historia Trojana* (Argentina, 1486, sig. d4, recto 1) of Guido de Colonna. The *frons* has just been described as being snowy and smooth, after which the account continues; *Miratur etenim in tam nitide frontis extremis conuallibus gemina supercilia quasi manu facta sic decenter eleuata flauescere vt geminos exemplata velut in arcus*, etc. It may be easily seen that 'browes brent' is an attempt to translate *supercilia . . . decenter eleuata*. With these quotations we may compare the following passage from the *Aeneis* of Gavin Douglas,

From his blyth browis brent and ayther ene
The fyre twinkling (VIII. xii, 14)

where the original in Vergil's *Aeneid* runs, . . . *geminas cui tempora flammis laeta vomunt*. So far as I know, this is the last appearance in English or Scottish literature of the combination *brent brows*, which, from some of the above quotations, seems to mean 'high eyebrows' and not 'a high forehead' as the dictionaries assert.

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Romeo and Juliet II, iv, 219-227

The passage reads in the Second Quarto (it is not found in the First) as follows:

doth not Rosemarie and *Romeo* begin both with a letter?

Ro. I Nurse, what of that? Both with an *R*.

Nur. A mocker thats the dog, name¹ *R*. is for the no, I know it begins with some other letter, and she hath the pretiest sententious of it, of you and Rosemarie, that it would do you good to heare it.

Various emendations to lines 222 and 223 have been suggested.² Ritson proposed:³

"Ah mocker! that's the dog's name. *R* is for the — no; I know it begins with some other letter." This reading is favored by Malone,⁴ who intimates that he had hit upon it independently of Ritson; it is adopted by Delius, Keightly, Furnivall, the Cambridge editors, Dowden, and others. The object of this note is to show that the general meaning of the passage favors this reading.

Editors of Shakespeare generally give very full notes concerning *R* as the dog's name, but, as far as I am aware, no editor offers an explanation of the nurse's inability to understand that Rosemarie and Romeo begin with *R*.⁵ It is evident that she does not understand, for she calls Romeo a mocker when he tells her that the letter is *R*, and she says further, "I know it begins with some other letter." To her ignorant ear, it is not words like Rosemarie and Romeo that begin with *R*, but words like *army*, *argue*, *arsenic*, *arsenal*.⁶ She starts to tell Romeo what *R* stands for to her, "Ah, mocker! that's the dog's name; *R* is for the —. Here she checks herself before the vulgar word has escaped her lips. Just so in line 212 of this scene, "Lord, Lord! when 'twas a little prating thing:—," she checks herself in her desire to tell the incident dwelt upon by her with so much gusto in Act I, Scene iii, 38-57.

This interpretation of the nurse's interrupted remark is corrob-

¹ All the later Quartos and the Folios read *dogs name*; the rest of the passage does not vary from the Second Quarto.

² See Cambridge edition, 1895, vol. VI, p. 548.

³ *Remarks Critical and Illustrative on the Text and Notes of the Last Edition of Shakespeare*, London, 1783.

⁴ Edition of 1794, vol. XIV, p. 78.

⁵ See Furness, Variorum Edition of *Romeo and Juliet*, pp. 140-142.

⁶ This is shown by her words, "that's the dog's name," referring to the familiar, "*R* is the dog's letter." The quotations given in explanation of this passage by many editors show plainly that the snarling of the dog is likened to the sound of *R*, and the spelling of the representations of the snarling sound shows that it is the same as the first syllable of *argue*. I give some examples from Furness (pp. 140-1), *nar*, *er*, *arre*. Cf. *English Dialect Dictionary*, s.v. *arr*, v².

orated by a passage in Middleton's *Michaelmas Term*, Act I, Scene iii, 381-3.⁷

Easy. How like you my Roman hand i' faith?

Dustbox. Exceedingly well, sir, but you rest too much upon your R, and make your ease too little.

That the ignorant have continued to regard R as the initial of such works as *argue* and *army*, is illustrated by an anecdote⁸ related in *With the Connaught Rangers, in Quarters, Camp, and on Leave*, by General E. H. Maxwell, C. B., London, 1882:

"The adjutant of the Connaught Rangers, Arthur Maule, gave orders to his batman to have his initials burnt on his horse's hind-quarters. I suppose Paddy did not know what initials meant, for Maule, on proceeding with his batman to inspect the nag, found B. R. beautifully clipped and burnt on the charger's hind-quarters. 'What does B. R. mean?' said the astonished officer. 'My initials are A. M.' 'Arrah, sure, sir,' said the rather offended groom, 'B. R. stands for British Army.'"

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VIRGINIA IN *Eastward Ho*

It has not been pointed out that in Seagull's extravagant description of Virginia in *Eastward Ho*¹ the authors made use of travelers' accounts of Virginia, found in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*.² The parallels follow:

Seagull. . . . For as much redde copper as I can bring, . . .

Hakluyt: 'Copper caryeth the price of all, so it be made red' (III, 255).

'Our copper is better then theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder' (III, 258).

'We exchanged a copper kettle for fiftie skins woorth fiftie Crownes' (III, 247).

Spendall. Gods me! and how farre is it thether?

Seagull. Some six weekes sayle, no more, with any indifferent good winde. . . . Ther's a foreright winde continuall wafts us.

Hakluyt: 'After once we are departed the coast of England, wee may passe straightway thither, without danger of being driven into any of the countries of our enemies, or doubtfull friends: for commonly one winde serveth to bring us thither, which seldome faileth from the middle of Januarie to the middle of May, a benefite which the mariners make great account of, for it is a pleasure that they have in a few or none of other journeys.

⁷ *The Works of Middleton*, edited by A. H. Bullen, vol. I, p. 261.

⁸ My attention was called to this anecdote by my colleague, Professor H. B. Lathrop.

¹ *Eastward Ho* by Jonson, Chapman, and Marston [Belles-Lettres Series, D. C. Heath & Co.], p. 71.

² Published six years before *Eastward Ho*. Quotations from the Hakluyt Society's reprint, with references to the first edition.

Also the passage is short, for we may goe thither in thirtie or fortie dayes at the most, having but an indifferent winde, and return continually in twenty or foure and twentie dayes at the most' (III, 178).

Hakluyt describes the temperate climate³ of Virginia, her abundant viands,⁴ the free life,⁵ as in the golden age, and ease of advancement⁶ there, and the southern route⁷ to the colony, much as they are described in the play; but the resemblances are not definite enough to justify quotation. In general, to observe that the three authors founded on fact even a sailor's exaggerated description of Virginia again reminds us how much writers of travel have aided dramatists and poets.

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A NOTE ON *Il Penseroso*

The references to Hermes and to Plato (*Il Penseroso*, 85-95) in the description of the night's reading of the contemplative man deserve more careful annotation than they have hitherto received. Editors more familiar with Plato than with Hermes have contented themselves with a note identifying Hermes, mentioning the association with his name of the Hermetic philosophy, and suggesting that the following verses refer to Plato's *Phædo*.

A careful reading of the latter does not, however, justify the annotation. Though Plato does discuss the probable dwellings of excarnate souls, he does not, either in the *Phædo* or elsewhere, describe the dæmons of fire, air, water, and earth, who are connected with the planets. His reticence in this regard has apparently been noticed by some of the more conscientious editors, who hazard a conjecture that in verses 93-96 we have a reference to some medieval speculation. Thus Todd suggests "some reference to the Gothick system of Demons, which is a mixture of Platonism, school divinity, and Christian superstition." This opinion is echoed by Masson, and by several other modern editors. To none of them apparently has it occurred that the reference is to the Hermetic writings previously alluded to in verse 88.

That, however, appears to be made evident by a reading of the extant Hermetic books. In *The Key* (14) we read, "Now from one source ($\alpha\beta\chi\eta$) all things depend. . . . Three, then, are they: God, . . . Cosmos, and man." Of the Cosmos we are told (*The Perfect Sermon*, III, 1) "That, then, from which the whole Cosmos is formed consists of four elements—fire, water, earth, and air." Of the Cosmos, each of the strata or layers is peopled with daimons innumerable—"choirs of daimons," they are called (*Definitions of Asclepius to King Amon* 13). "And under Him is ranged the

³ III, 279.

⁴ III, 249.

⁵ III, 246, 248, 269, 273.

⁶ III, 153, 280.

⁷ III, 281

choir of daimons—or rather choirs; for these are multitudinous and very varied, ranked underneath the groups of stars (*ὑπὸ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων πλινθίδας*) in equal number with each one of them.” Through these daimons the stars exercise their influence upon the lives of men, controlling all the activities of earth, for, to use Milton’s phrase, their

power hath a true consent (connection)
With planet or with element.”

Of the daimons it is said (*Definitions of Asclepius to King Amon*, 14) “To all of these has been allotted the authority over things upon the earth; and it is they who bring about the confusion of the turmoils of earth—for states and nations generally, and for each individual separately.” Their chief function seems to be to act as God’s retributive agents. “They watch over the affairs of men, and work out things appointed by the Gods—by means of storms, whirlwinds and hurricanes, by transmutations wrought by fire and shakings of the earth, with famines also, and with wars requiting man’s impiety.”

From the foregoing citations, it is evident that the source of Milton’s ideas about the daimons was neither Plato nor medieval speculation, but the mixture of Neo-Platonic and Oriental mysticism now generally called the Hermetic philosophy.

Though speculative, this was certainly not medieval. It antedated considerably the earliest of the patristic writings, Justin Martyr about the middle of the second century A. D. classes Hermes “among the most ancient philosophers” (*Cohortatio ad Gentiles*, xxxviii). Of the other church fathers, nine quote more or less at length from the Hermetic books—Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Augustine, Cyril of Alexandria, and Suidas. It is noteworthy that Lactantius (*Divine Institutions*, i, 6, 1) seems to refer to the *Definitions of Asclepius to King Amon*, 15-16, cited above, in which the functions of the daimons are described.

The patristic writings were well known to Milton. Many of them he quotes in his prose works; and the *Common-place Book* preserved in the Cambridge manuscript contains no less than six citations from Lactantius. It is not improbable, therefore, that Milton’s interest in Hermes was awakened by his reading during the luminous holiday of the Horton period of the church fathers.¹

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¹ Milton’s reference to Hermes was much more intelligible in the seventeenth century than it is today. In Milton’s time Hermes’s name was one to conjure with, for it was regarded with the deepest reverence by the Rosicrucians; these and their faith in Hermes were stock themes for satire. See, for example Butler’s *Hudibras*, Part II, Canto iii, 651 ff.

THE *Pupilla Oculi*

In my article "The Speculum Vitae: Addendum," printed in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, June, 1917, reference was made (p. 152) to a fourteenth century compendium for the use of parish priests known as the *Pupilla Oculi* which seemed to possess some interest for literary history from the fact that it was ascribed to John de Burgh, the Chancellor of Cambridge in 1384, when we have some reason to believe that the University was concerning itself with popular religious literature; and also from the fact that, whatever its origin, it was placed in many parish churches for the use of curates, during the fifteenth century when the literature provided for the people was in general carefully supervised because of Lollardry.

At the time of writing the article in question, the only authority for Burgh's authorship of the *Pupilla* was the ascription found in the edition printed in 1510. It is the purpose of this note to quote the following heading which is affixed to an index found in the copy of the work in Cambridge University Ms. Ee. 5. 11 (f. 24 f.): "Hec tabula facta per fratrem Willelmum Sudbery monachum Westmonasterii super pupillam oculi editam per magistrum Johannem Burght et magistrum Alanum Tylneye."

This heading is quoted from the article by Dr. J. A. Robinson, "An Unrecognized Westminster Chronicler" (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1910-8, p. 74, n. 3), in which he is treating the work of Sudbery. This person was a student of his abbey at Oxford, 1373-4, one of those who drew up the great Inventory of the Westminster vestry in 1388 (printed by Dr. Wickham Legg), etc., etc. It would appear that his opinion on the authorship of the *Pupilla Oculi* would be as good as any that could be found.

The authoritative character which the *Pupilla* apparently received makes it of special interest for contemporary literary history. It is a very common book in English libraries, but no copy in America has so far come to my attention. I should be grateful for information as to where it could be consulted in this country.

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BRIEF MENTION

Wordsworth's Theory of Poetic Diction: A Study of the Historical and Personal Background of the Lyrical Ballads. By Marjorie Latta Barstow (Yale Studies in English LVII. Yale University Press, 1917). The critics of Wordsworth have, for the most part, given currency to the judgment that the poet had done better if he had not attempted to expound his theory of poetic diction, which, after all, is contradicted, it is declared, by his own

practice. In becoming traditional this judgment has been a barrier to an unbiased study of the subject, altho there has also been a growing tendency in recent times to interpret the poet's discussion of the matter more liberally and to justify his statements by a sympathetic assumption of what he must have meant by them. But Wordsworth's reflections on the principles of his art, tho strongly personal and reflecting a commanding originality, were due to facts and circumstances that pertain to literary history. As indicated by the sub-title of Miss Barstow's monograph, there is an historical prelude to be surveyed as well as a set of immediately personal circumstances; and above all the character and habits of the poet's mind must be profoundly considered.

To believe Wordsworth capable of advocating a theory of poetic diction that does not bear the stamp of a cultivated judgment and that is easily perceived to be incompatible with good art, and therefore necessarily contradicted by his own practice, should never have been possible in the light of such internal evidence as is offered, for example, in a passage of his "Letter to *The Friend*" (1809): "Mark the superiority, the ease, the dignity, on the side of the more advanced mind, how he overlooks his subject, commands it from centre to circumference, and hath the same thorough knowledge of the tenets which his adversary, with impetuous zeal, but in confusion also, and thrown off his guard at every turn of the argument, is labouring to maintain! If it be a question of the fine arts (poetry for instance) the ripier mind not only sees that his opponent is deceived; but, what is of far more importance, sees *how* he is deceived. The imagination stands before him with all its imperfections laid open; as duped by shews, enslaved by words, corrupted by mistaken delicacy and false refinement,—as not having even attended with care to the reports of the senses, and therefore deficient grossly in the rudiments of her power. He has noted how, as a supposed necessary condition, the understanding sleeps in order that fancy may dream. Studied in the history of society, and versed in the secret laws of thought, he can pass regularly through all the gradations, can pierce infallibly all the windings, which false taste through ages has pursued." The poet's prose exhibits a mind intolerable of hasty and unreasoned judgments. He is never in the slightest degree disposed to relax his adherence to intellectual and emotional integrity. In his papers "Upon Epitaphs" (1810), for example, may be found doctrine enough to explain the whole man; thus certain observations are excused on the ground that may "bring the ingenuous into still closer communion with those primary sensations of the human heart, which are the vital springs of sublime and pathetic composition, in this and in every other kind." And then follows "a criterion of sincerity," by which a writer may be judged: "For, when a man is treating an interesting subject, or one which he ought not to treat

at all unless he be interested, no faults have such a killing power as those which prove that he is not in earnest, that he is acting a part, has leisure for affectation, and feels that without it he could do nothing."

Wordsworth is his own interpreter. Every expression in the Advertisement or in the Preface that has given rise to disputation may be satisfactorily cleared up by placing against it his own commentary to be found in some other connection. What he says, for example, of epitaphs he obviously holds to be true of all poetry: "In a permanent inscription things only should be admitted that have an enduring place in the mind: and a nice selection is required even among these." And many passages make clear the character of his particular revolt against the seductive influence of Pope, "whose sparkling and tuneful manner had bewitched the men of letters his contemporaries, and corrupted the judgment of the nation through all ranks of society. So that a great portion of original genius was necessary to embolden a man to write faithfully to Nature upon any affecting subject if it belonged to a class of composition in which Pope had furnished examples" ("Upon Epitaphs"). And how finely he separates the function of the restraints of meter from the freedom and possible caprice of poetic diction, and argues against the view of "those who still contend for the necessity of accompanying metre with certain appropriate colours of style in order to the accomplishment of its appropriate end, and who also, in my opinion, greatly underrate the power of metre in itself" (Preface). Wordsworth is constantly admonishing his readers to test his propositions by deep and sympathetic reflection, hoping to avert the consequences of the "callous playfulness of a poetical critic, . . . whose sole art consisted in turning about the canting dictionary of criticism" (Disraeli). Wordsworth's distinction between the function of meter and that of diction and style gives the key to the right understanding of Crabbe's workmanship, which is conservative on the one hand, and on the other hand startlingly progressive and closely allied to the art of Wordsworth. Hazlitt rejected *The Village* and Jeffrey *The Excursion*; both would have been accepted by a judgment schooled in the profound reflections of Wordsworth. The "dictionary of criticism" undergoes changes, but it remains a professional apparatus, necessarily useful and inevitably also to some degree detrimental to soundest criticism. Even so just a critic as Sir Walter Raleigh in his strictures on Wordsworth's order of words "imposed by metre and rhyme" is rather professional than penetratingly reflective on the poet's conception of the effects of metrical expression, of "the power of metre in itself." No poet has more definitely extolled the "charm/ Of words in tuneful order, found them sweet/ For their own sakes, a passion and a power," and admitted to a high function "the turnings intricate, of verse."

Wordsworth revolted against the influences traceable in his early poems (see Legouis, 133 ff.), and whatever 'devices' of his early style he retained were surely justified, in his peculiarly profound and original manner, as aids to his best art.

To justify a rehandling of a subject that has been so long discussed, Miss Barstow makes clear her conviction that the poet's 'theory' has more meaning than "commonly meets the eye"; that it has not been interpreted with sufficient regard to its relation with "the best traditions of English literature"; that the conscious art of the 'experiment' has been too generally supposed to comprise a liberal share of caprice; and that the poet's theorizing and practice have a "supreme value for the art of English poetry" that has not been duly estimated. It has remained to show more conclusively, the reader of this monograph will agree, that the 'theory' announced in words that could be and have been misunderstood represented the poet's early steps in the historic and scholarly study of the poetry of the past, which gradually ripened his judgment as to the poet's selective use of the real language of men, and necessary regard for actual psychology in aiming to find the "genuine language of passion." Sentences like the following are as strictly Wordsworthian as his most "highly individualized" poetry: "For the language arising out of repeated experience and regular feelings is a more permanent and a far more philosophical language than that frequently substituted for it by poets."

Miss Barstow has made a creditable and exceedingly useful contribution to the complete study of her subject. She unites with grace an adequate strength of style, and manages her argument with attractive clearness. A desired compactness of form is, however, wanting at many places; her facility of expression has, it would seem, tended to betray her into what at times borders on diffusiveness. This is not a serious charge, for the reader is never delayed without compensation. There is, however, a slight structural infelicity that may disturb the more systematic reader. He will encounter some interrupting comment and incidental reference by which the limits of what has been offered especially by J. L. Moore and E. Legouis are occasionally less precisely shown than would be required to give point in the most effective manner to Miss Barstow's own modifications and additions. Space is not available for an analysis of this ample treatise. The chapters are entitled: Poetic Diction in "Our Elder Poets"; Poetic Diction in "Modern Times"; Wordsworth's Poetic Development previous to the meeting with Coleridge; Coleridge and his Circle; Coleridge and Wordsworth; The Lyrical Ballads,—a sum total of about two hundred pages.

A survey of the historical background of the 'theory' brings to light the essential agreement between Wordsworth's revolt and

the previous changes in the national code of 'poetic diction.' Miss Barstow does not fail to put a fresh emphasis on illustrative matter. She finds Daniel pleading for "the language and tunes of our own people" (p. 15), and "a reform in France with a notable anticipation of Wordsworth's preference for the language of the lower and middle classes" (p. 26), and keeps the reader in mind of the Royal Society's interest in the scientific clearness and simplicity of the language (p. 28),—an important indication of the movements that gave rise to neo-classicism, and which were to recur, in all the essentials of a revolt against artificialities, to establish romanticism.

An attempt is made to credit the poet with an additional "early style," but this minor matter is not handled with Miss Barstow's usual skill. The chapters dealing with the poet's personal associations supply much that is very pertinent to the main argument, which culminates in a critical chapter on the art of the particular ballads which constituted the famous "experiment." These ballads are minutely analyzed with respect to vocabulary, syntax, narrative and lyrical technique, and compared in these features with the "old ballads." In no other way is a measure to be obtained of the poet's consciously artistic subjection to a definite *genre*. Nothing is more certain than that "the language of the *Lyrical Ballads* is as much the result of conscious art as the language of *Paradise Lost*" (p. 172), and that the disputed words of the Advertisement were therefore so plainly justified that the persistence with which they have been misconstrued must be forever numbered with the less excusable vagaries of literary criticism.

J. W. B.

Canon P. H. Ditchfield, in the preface to his *The England of Shakespeare* (E. P. Dutton & Co.,) bewails the fate that his book should have so formidable a rival and competitor as *Shakespeare's England*, recently produced by a group of Oxford scholars and experts. Quite needlessly, for the appeal of his book is to beginners, certainly not to scholars, that of the two-volume Oxford work is to advanced students. The good canon reminds one constantly of the English school master who is guiding a group of serious-minded boys through the England of the spacious times of Elizabeth and is elaborately drawing upon a well-stocked memory of Shakespearean quotation and contemporary allusion, in order that their vacation thus spent may be both interesting and instructive. He covers some twenty different topics, such as religion, the court, the city and the country, the universities, the army and the navy, agriculture, sports, social conditions and popular superstitions; and he skips over the surface of these matters with the light and easy grace of one unburdened by the latest products of scholarship.

Nothing is too vast to be confined within the nutshell of a chapter. Thus all non-dramatic Elizabethan literature is treated in ten pages, and the drama and the theatre in sixteen! Moreover, we run across such remarkable pronouncements as that Jonson's "two tragedies, *Sejanus* and *Cataline*, were worthless," and that we cannot be certain what use was made of the rear stage and the gallery above it.

How delightfully like certain educators of English youth, too, is the canon's excursion into the realm of fancy with his fine aristocratic flavor, as shown in the following:

"Across this (the Avon bridge built by Clompton) the poet must often have wandered, and I seem to see him clinging to his mother's hand strolling along the bank of the stream, watching the graceful swans and listening to her voice as she discourses to him of the lore of birds and flowers, and of the stories of olden times, unfolding the pages of history and of the part which the Ardens and Shakespeares may have played in the national annals. Mary Arden was of gentle birth and good family. There was a Sir Thomas Arden, squire of the body to Henry VII, a brother of Robert, great uncle of the poet's mother." Thus is our Shakespeare made acceptable to high-born English youth. And how he tries to encourage the potential Shakespeares among his pupils by this splendid example:

"A visit to the large schoolroom makes one picture in imagination the clever, bright, brown-eyed boy sitting at his desk pouring (*sic*) over the *Metamorphoses*, Lily's grammar, or writing in the Old English Script."

When, however, we reflect that this is the twenty-third of Canon Ditchfield's books, we need not wonder that it is superficial or that such misprints as "no" for "one," p. 19, l. 18, and "*Malpy*" for "*Malfy*," p. 247, l. 1, should be found.

J. W. T.

The *Manual and Notebook for English Composition* by James F. Royster and Stith Thompson (Chicago, Scott, Foresman & Co., 1917) is designed to make indolent students profit by the correction of their themes. The book is divided into five parts: Punctuation, Spelling, Sentence Structure, Grammar, and Diction, each part being followed by blank pages ruled in parallel columns. In the first column the student is expected to copy an error pointed out by the theme corrector, and opposite it the correct form. The principle of the book is, therefore, to bring into close proximity the rule and a blank page for a record of the student's violation of it.

In the execution of the plan one can find much to commend. The copious lists of theme-subjects and of books and periodicals are

serviceable, and the tabulation of errors has, in the main, been done with judgment and thoroughness. Some fault, however, is to be found with the style of the work. What shall we say of the sentence, "What is good use in one language level may be bad use in another" or of such compounds as "all word-newcomers"; "a punctuation practice that is neither too old-fashioned nor too new"; "those who do not wish to proclaim themselves low-mannered." Conciseness does not excuse the logic of "Good colloquial usage is the body of words habitually used in easy discourse by people of good speech manners," nor does it justify the unqualified statement that "*skedaddle* is more forceful and more picturesque than *depart*."

With regard to the purpose of the work one must withhold full approval. In the hands of an ill-trained but ambitious student the *Manual and Notebook* should be an extremely valuable means of self-help. As a general text-book for a large class, it seems likely to add immensely to the labor of the instructor, for it is obvious that the students who do not take the corrections on their themes seriously will not take this book seriously, unless driven to it by constant inspection and conference. Why not set the standard of the course so high that the student who is loftily indifferent to marginal comment will mend his ways or fail? It is disheartening to find such a method as the authors describe proposed for college men. The coddling of our students has gone far enough, and the burdens of our instructors in English are already too great. Only the awkward squad, in imminent danger of being dropped from the class, should need such a notebook.

J. C. F.

Entre las publicaciones de la *Revista de Filología Española* aparece la *Antología de prosistas castellanos* de D. R. Menéndez Pidal, colección que en 1899 había visto la luz, en edición oficial desde hacía tiempo agotada. Se presenta ahora bastante adicionada y corregida. Consta de una cincuentena de textos bien entresacados, atendidos el valor estético y las peculiaridades del lenguaje. Comienza con tres trozos de la *Crónica General* y se extiende hasta el Conde de Toreno. Fácilmente se comprenden las grandes dificultades que una selección de esta índole impone, salvadas de modo cuidadoso para ofrecer, en tan reducido espacio, un cuadro general de la evolución de la prosa desde los tiempos del Rey Sabio hasta el primer tercio del siglo XIX. Acaso echo de menos el nombre de Juan de Valdés. A cada autor precede una sugestiva introducción y las notas son luminosas, bastantes y de ejemplar sobriedad. Es, pues, una obra altamente útil para la labor pedagógica. E. B.